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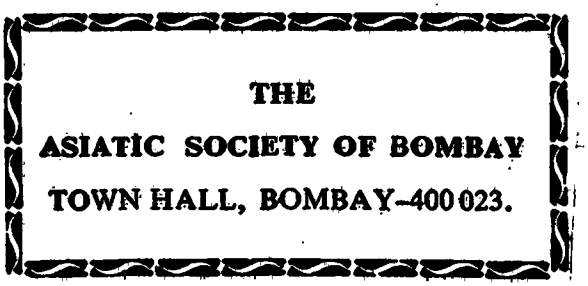

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF MALTA

OR THE

ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL

OF

ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

BY

MAJOR WHITWORTH PORTER
ROYAL ENGINEERS

PRO FIDE POUR LA FOI

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

PALESTINE—RHODES

29607 ac

LONDON
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS
1858

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PREFACE.

Of all the acquisitions made by Great Britain during the course of that lengthened struggle by which the present century was ushered in, and which ended in the overthrow of the French Empire, and the temporary re-establishment of the Bourbon dynasty, none was esteemed of greater importance, both politically and commercially, than the island of Malta. To a nation already possessed of an undoubted naval supremacy, and holding, in the fortress of Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, it wanted but this one point more to render its position in those waters utterly and completely unassailable.

Malta has, therefore, always been considered a most important and valued appanage to the British Crown, and its due security has been carefully and jealously guarded. Still, until within the last few years, comparatively but little was known of the island by the great bulk of the population of England. True, they all had been taught that it was a powerful insular

fortress in the centre of the Mediterranean, half way between Sicily and the north coast of Africa, and that, prior to its passing under the sway of England, it had been the home, for upwards of two centuries, of a military community, called "The Knights of Malta." Some, perhaps, had even heard of its siege as a struggle reflecting great renown on the garrison of the island, and as one of the most protracted and heroic defences made throughout the sixteenth century. But beyond this point little was generally either known or cared for.

Latterly, however, a very different feeling has arisen, and circumstances have brought the island far more prominently before the British public. The first step in this direction was taken when Queen Adelaide was, by her physicians, ordered to pass a winter there, that she might avail herself of the mildness of its climate during that season. The example thus set in so illustrious a quarter was immediately followed, and from that time Malta has every winter become the resort of a great and continually increasing number of invalids and others attracted thither by its genial climate. From this cause a personal interest in its previous history, and in that of the Order who had raised it from a mere barren rock into its present proud position, became created in the minds of many who would otherwise have cared little or nothing about the matter.

The number of those who have thus been thrown into direct contact with the island has, however, received its greatest and most important accession from the late Russian war. Situated half way between Gibraltar and Constantinople, Malta naturally became a central depôt,

wherein vast stores of material, as well as troops, were concentrated, and which was visited by every one, either going to or returning from the scene of strife. Any one who can call to mind the comparatively tranquil condition of the harbour and island generally, previous to that event, and then compare it with the busy scene presented to his eyes in the midst of the war, must have been struck with the giant strides that had been made during a few months in commercial importance; nor has the subsequent peace brought with it such a diminution of stir and bustle as might have been anticipated. The harbours are still crowded with shipping, steamers, both English and French, call almost daily at the island, and a general aspect of thriving industry and progress mark that Malta is destined for the future to hold commercially a very prominent position in the Mediterranean.

A demand having thus arisen for more detailed information relative to the previous history of the Order of Malta, it has been made a subject of much complaint that such information is very difficult to obtain. The only book in the English language, bearing any pretensions to the title of a popular history of the Order, is Sutherland's "Knights of Malta," published in Constable's "Miscellany." Now this book, which is, after all, but little else than an abridged translation of the voluminous quartos of Vertot, contains no details of aught but the political and public career of the Knights. On their internal organisation and social history he is perfectly silent, and yet that is the point on which general interest is more particularly excited.

Of late years, a work has also been published by the Chevalier Taafe, himself a member of the Order; but his book contains the same grave omission, and is, moreover, couched in such obscure and foreign English, as to be almost unavailable to the general reader. The only other English work bearing on the subject, with which I am acquainted, is the history of Malta, written by Boisgelin, who, as well as Taafe, was a Knight of St. John. This book, which is most valuable in its way, only takes up the subject from the commencement of the sixteenth century, leaving the three preceding and most important centuries of the career of the Order quite untouched.

Under these circumstances, and having myself experienced the difficulty which exists in obtaining, in a popular form, such information concerning the Order of St. John as is generally sought for, I have endeavoured, in the following work, to supply that deficiency, and to collect together, in a readable form, such details as I have gathered, after wading through an enormous mass of reading, from amidst the ponderous tomes of the public library of Malta, and its still more valuable Record Office, where papers and manuscripts of the deepest interest exist in countless profusion.

Whilst following out a general history of the Order from its first establishment in Palestine, in the close of the eleventh century, to the present day, I have endeavoured to intersperse the narrative with such details of their private and social habits and customs as I deemed might prove most acceptable to the general reader, and

which I feel well assured have never hitherto been made public.

In this labour I have received much and most valuable assistance. From His Excellency Sir William Reid, the governor of Malta, I have received that support and encouragement which his general desire for the promotion of literature and science was sure to have secured to me. To Dr. Luigi Vella, the courteous and zealous superintendent of the Record Office, my warmest thanks are due. Deeply versed, himself, in all the multifarious mass of reading there presented to view, he has invariably, in the most cordial manner, assisted my researches, by drawing my attention to such documents as he knew bore most directly on the subject upon which I sought information. To Dr. Cesare Vassalo, librarian of the great public library of Malta, I must also return thanks, for his zeal and kindness in the same cause. From Mr. Watts, himself a Knight of the Order of St. John, and from Mr. Winthrop, the American consul at this island, both of whom have for years made the position of the English branch of the community their particular study, I have received the greatest possible assistance. The lists of the various dignitaries of the English language, to be found in the 22nd chapter, were all corrected and added to by the former of these gentlemen, and the curious and interesting contributions of the latter to "Notes and Queries" have been frequently consulted by me with great advantage. The translations of the letters of English monarchs to the Grand-Master, to be found in this

work, have many of them been taken from that source. To all other friends, and they are many, who have lent me the aid of their counsel and help in the undertaking, I beg here to record my grateful acknowledgments.

I now beg to leave the result of my labours in the hands of an intelligent public, trusting that it will meet with clemency, if not with favour; and not altogether without hopes that I may have supplied a connecting link between the histories of Europe and Asia, which will prove interesting and valuable to the general reader.

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A

HISTORY

OF

THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

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From the day when the battle of Arbela hurled Darius from his throne, and sealed the fate of the proud monarchy of Persia; from the hour when the doomed city of Persepolis re-echoed the fierce shouts of the Grecian invader, the tide of civilisation, which for so many ages had been curbed within the limits of the eastern hemisphere, burst its barrier, and commenced rolling westward.

The haughty Greek, returning flushed with victory, and laden with the spoils of the East, brought with him also the germs of that civilisation which he had witnessed in the lands of his triumph. Ere long, the

Grecian empire, already celebrated for the prowess of its sons and the lustre of its arms, dazzled the world also by its pre-eminence in all the gentler arts which soften the heart and ennoble the mind. The genius of civilisation had removed her altars from the once-favoured lands where she had so long sojourned, and re-erecting them on the shores of the bay of Salamis, became worshipped by the ardent Greek with even stronger fervour than she had excited in the mind of the swarthy Mede. This was the era when Grecian architecture, revelling in forms of beauty, could point to the noble temple of Minerva, rearing its snowy columns into the clear blue sky, on the rocky heights of the Acropolis, as an incontrovertible testimony and a lasting monument of the civilisation of her people. This was the golden age of Grecian sculpture, when the genius of a Phidias, giving life to the inanimate marble, produced specimens of art, such as were not only the admiration of his own age, but have stood unrivalled even to the present hour. This was the triumphal epoch of Grecian painting, when her canvas glowed with the rival tints of a Zeuxis and a Parrhasius; and this was the time also when the clear ringing voice of a Demosthenes, awakening the surrounding echoes with his polished periods, marked the perfection of Grecian oratory.

Yet even here the gentle goddess was not doomed to find a permanent resting-place. Time, the remorseless agent of destiny, fulfilling its inevitable decree, gradually crumbled away the bulwarks of Grecian freedom, and sapped the heart's core of her intellectual superiority. Once again, therefore, she abandoned her home, and, winging her flight still further westward, sought a new shelter on the seven hills of Imperial Rome. Hence,

following close upon the footsteps of the victorious legions of her new devotees, we find her travelling on and on towards the setting sun, until at length even the Ultima Thule of the West acknowledged the gentle influence of her sway. Such had been the original source and onward flow of that widely spread stream of civilisation, which, in its gradual development, advanced even to the most western provinces of the empire; and under the softening influences of which the rude asperities of savage ferocity had become mellowed and humanised. Here, however, the limits which an all-wise Providence had fixed for the progress of the world appear to have been reached, and, commencing from this point, its retrogression was even more rapid than had been its original advance.

The mighty empire of Rome having attained the zenith of its grandeur, and having incorporated within its vast dominions nearly the entire of the then known world, began gradually to decline. Falling a victim to the weakness inseparable from its cumbrous extent, and to the discords which preyed upon its vitals, it gave way, step by step, before the inroads of the barbarians who hung upon its frontiers; until, province after province having been torn from her enfeebled grasp, the Imperial City itself at length beheld its Capitol violated by those wild hordes who had achieved its overthrow.

It is, however, among the circumstances attending this overpowering irruption of barbarism, that we must look for the first germs of that spirit of chivalry from which the Order of St. John took its origin.

The rapid and continuous extension of the Roman empire had created the necessity for that system of colonisation with which they invariably followed up

the conquests of their victorious generals. A new country no sooner fell into the power of their arms than an organised government was established, the miniature counterpart of that which dominated over the central city of their empire. A proconsul, or governor, was nominated, under whose sway, supported by legions of disciplined soldiery, peace and order were rapidly re-established, and steadily maintained in the newly acquired territory; but few changes being made in the occupation of the soil. A rapid though gradual transition, facilitated materially by the advent of numerous official dignitaries, bringing with them, to their new homes, all the refinements and many of the luxuries of their native city, converted the once rude land into a smiling and prosperous province, where the improvements and civilisation of their new masters found a ready footing. Under the influence of this power, the military spirit of the inhabitants was not evoked. Rome maintained her sway, not by a local militia, but by a standing army; and trusted for her victories rather to the trained movements of a well organised soldiery, than to the spontaneous efforts of an undisciplined peasantry, however martial their native spirit might be. The theory of centralisation pervaded every act of their government, and the constant communication thus created with the capital went far to aid the progress of refinement. The conquered population, instead of being degraded into the ranks of slavery, were raised to the dignity of Roman citizens, and the politic and judicious liberality with which they were treated caused them to yield readily to the influences, at once softening and enervating, of peace and refinement.

The case was, however, widely different with the barbarians whose torrent of invasion subsequently overthrew that mighty power. They had no central seat of empire from which to draft the rulers of their new acquisitions, they sought not a mere extension of an existing government, a new appanage to a monarchy already flourishing; but, descending from their wild homes amidst the bleak fastnesses of the north, they found in the luxuriant plains of the south a new empire and a more genial dwelling-place. The original holders of the land were all dispossessed, and mostly exterminated; their places being occupied by the new intruders. The leader of the irruption, secure in his power only in so far as he consulted the interests, and through that channel retained the affections, of his followers, established his government upon a wholesale system of military colonisation. There was, in such a case, no standing army, or regular organisation distinct from the occupiers of the soil, but every man remained a soldier, at the same time that he became a landed proprietor in the country of his adoption.

The feudal system, to which this state of things gave rise, was but the natural result, flowing from such premises. The leader himself became a monarch, holding supreme sway within his newly acquired kingdom. The commanders of his victorious forces became the nobles of his empire, receiving, as a reward for their services, and as guarantee for future attachment, large grants of land, hampered only by the conditions of military service in the field, whenever the necessities of their chief demanded their assistance. These, on the other hand, subdivided their land amongst their inferiors, under nearly similar conditions, so that, ere

long, the length and breadth of the soil was occupied under a tenure purely military in its requirements. It is not surprising, that, under such circumstances, a martial spirit should pervade the new colonists. Military service was the only road to advancement; it was by military service alone that they held their possessions, and the power of the sword was thus naturally held paramount to every other claim. Hence arose the first pulsations of that chivalric feeling which, in its maturer years, gave birth to the military and religious orders of the East.

Personal prowess being considered man's proudest ornament, and the pursuit of learning and science abandoned to the monk in his cloistered retreat, the profession of arms was the only resource opened to the youth of high and noble estate. Taught from childhood to take delight in the martial exercises which formed the daily occupation of the retainers in every baronial castle, he imbibed at an early age that ardent desire for distinction and renown which formed the fundamental principle of chivalry. Imbued with the religious veneration of the age, a veneration deeply tinged with superstition, and strengthened by the gross ignorance of the times, he was led to consider as sacred the obligations imposed upon him by the chivalric code: to combat in the defence of his religion was deemed not only a holy duty, but, at the same time, an inestimable privilege. He had been trained in the belief that pardon for his sins was to be purchased by a display of martial zeal in behalf of his faith; and that the shedding of his blood in this sacred cause would insure him an entrance into the joys of heaven. This doctrine appealed in the warmest and most direct

manner to the prevailing sentiments of the time; it readily, therefore, found a responsive echo in every chivalric bosom. Since the whole community of Europe was imbued with feelings such as these, it required but a spark to set the fabric in a blaze; and, ere long, there arose in the East the incentive by which that flame was kindled.

The Byzantine empire had continued to hold its sway long after its Western sister had succumbed to the wild tribes of the North; and, although much circumscribed from its original colossal dimensions, yet, at the commencement of the seventh century, the Euphrates was still the Asiatic boundary of the empire. Her rulers, however, either dreading the treachery of usurpers, or being usurpers themselves, were less anxious to check the inroads of the barbarians by whom they were surrounded than to secure their own position on the tottering throne. Encompassed by enemies, both within and without, that position was annually becoming one of increasing difficulty, and demanded in the monarch the presence of the highest administrative talents, combined with the most consummate skill in generalship, to maintain its integrity. Unfortunately however for the empire, her rulers evinced no such powers; far from making head against the constant encroachments of their neighbours, they plunged madly into all the voluptuous degeneracy of the times, and vainly sought to conceal their effeminate weakness, and disgraceful cowardice, beneath the idle pomp of a gorgeous magnificence. Under such adverse influences, the power which had at one time been swayed over the eastern half of Europe, and had shared the empire of the world with its Roman sister, crumbled away by

degrees, and became a mere phantom of its former grandeur.

There was, however, one province which, throughout all the declining fortunes of the empire, commanded the most affectionate interest and the warmest sympathy in every corner of Europe. This was the province of Judea, within whose limits stood the holy city of Jerusalem. Since the death of our Saviour, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the struggles of warfare, had caused numerous changes within its sacred precincts. Immediately after the capture of the city by the Romans under Titus, in fulfilment of the prophecies so frequently uttered by our Lord, the idolatrous institutions of its new masters took the place of the Judaism which had been driven forth to be dispersed over the face of the whole earth. A Pagan temple was erected upon the site where Solomon "had built him an house unto the Lord;" and the foul rites of a heathen worship desecrated the land hallowed by the Passion of our Saviour.

But in the fourth century, the Christian faith, which had been gradually winning its way throughout the empire, became recognised as the established religion; and ere long Christian churches and a Christian worship replaced the temple of the heathen and the rites of Paganism. Foremost amongst these structures, dedicated to the services of their new religion, stood the church of the Holy Sepulchre, erected by the Empress Helena, the mother of the great Constantine. She had been converted and baptised into the Christian faith at the same time as her son; and, with all the awakened zeal of an enthusiastic convert, had made a personal pilgrimage to the Holy Land, seeking amidst the scenes

of her Saviour's last home upon earth for a lively confirmation of her new faith. To her is attributed the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, and upon its site she erected the magnificent temple which bears its name. Her example was followed by her son, and ere long the numerous stately churches and convents which they founded became the principal adornment of the Holy Land.

Jerusalem now became the favoured object of the world's devotion. Religious curiosity had prompted Christians, from the earliest ages of the church, to visit the regions sanctified by their faith, and this feeling, increasing in strength by the growth of custom, and supported by the influence of the entire priesthood, reached at length to such a pitch of fervour, that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem became recognised as the most efficacious act of penance which the poor sinner could perform in expiation of his guilt. Vast crowds flocked annually from every corner in Europe to utter a prayer on the tomb of their Saviour, and to gaze on that hallowed mount where he had breathed his last. The very dust of the land was considered sacred in their eyes; and the pious wanderer, returning to his native home, hung his palm branch and pilgrim's staff over the altar of his parish church, where it remained, not only a token of his own devotion, but, at the same time, an incentive to others to follow so laudable an example.

Matters were on this footing when suddenly, from the obscurity of the East, there emerged one of those agents of divine Providence who, at stated periods in the world's history, flash like meteors upon the scene of events, to carry out His inscrutable dispensations; and who, in the present instance, was ordained to cause a complete revo-

lution throughout the nations of the East, and to become the founder not only of a new empire, but also of a new religion.

It will not come within the province of this work to enter into any detail with regard to the personal history of the impostor Mahomet, who, in the early part of the seventh century, made his appearance in the guise of a prophet in the city of Mecca. Suffice it to say, that, in a period variously stated at from ten to twenty-five years from the commencement of his career, he had brought the whole of Arabia under his dominion. The main cause of this rapid success may be found in the fact, that one of the fundamental doctrines of his new faith was the necessity of its propagation by the power of the sword. The lust of conquest being thus superadded to the zeal of fanaticism, it was not long in bearing its customary fruit; and the new creed spread with a rapidity unequalled in the annals of religious propagandism.

After the death of Mahomet, his successors, who took the name of caliph, or vicar of the prophet, for their title, filled with zeal for their new faith, and burning with ambition to add to their conquests, overran the neighbouring provinces, and spread the doctrines of their master, and their own power, at the point of the sword. Damascus, Antioch, and Syria having succumbed to their arms, they penetrated into Palestine, seized upon Jerusalem, and passing thence into Egypt, they subjugated it to their empire. Media, Korassan, and Mesopotamia shared the same fate, until, at length, having entered Africa, they brought the whole northern coast under the influence of their sway. In Europe, after having successively seized upon the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, and Malta, they founded a new empire

in the heart of Spain, whence they carried on, for many centuries, a desperate struggle with the Christians of the surrounding provinces.

Of all these conquests, however, the one which caused the greatest dismay throughout Christendom, and which, in after ages, was fraught with the most eventful results, was the capture of the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem. So long as the Christian emperors of the East had continued to hold sway over its sacred limits, the advent of pilgrims from all parts of the world had been encouraged in every possible way. The government had early perceived that a vast amount of money was by this means brought into the empire, and that its commerce was considerably extended by the large concourse of ever-changing people collected together within the favoured province. Although the Mahometan successors of the Eastern emperors were far too politic and keen-sighted to prohibit the admission of this influx of Christians into the sacred city, they nevertheless imposed upon them such tributes as materially diminished their slender finances. The Infidels were at that time divided by intestine discords amongst themselves; since, shortly after the death of Mahomet, they had become split up into separate factions, each led by a chief who claimed for himself the right of empire, in virtue of his being the nearest in descent from the Prophet. There were at one time no less than five distinct pretenders to this dignity. The sovereignty of Jerusalem had been warmly contested between two of these rivals, the caliph of Bagdad and the caliph of Egypt; and, in their struggles for supremacy, the poor unoffending pilgrims of the West were miserably harassed and plundered, nay, not unfrequently murdered. These impediments, how-

ever, were not sufficient to check the ardour of their zeal; nor did the manifold dangers of the enterprise deter a vast and annually increasing number from seeking the shores of Palestine.

Many of these devotees combined the profitable employment of traffic with the holier office of the Palmer; and those who were thus enabled to establish a relationship with the lords of the neighbouring provinces, had it frequently in their power to befriend their less fortunate brethren. In the middle of the eleventh century, some merchants of Amalfi, a rich city of the kingdom of Naples, having in the course of their trading in Egypt ingratiated themselves with the Caliph Monstaser Billah, who at that time held the holy city under his sway, obtained permission to establish a hospital within the limits of Jerusalem, for the use of poor and sick Latin pilgrims. In accordance with the order of the caliph, the Mahometan governor of the city assigned to these pious men a site close to the Holy Sepulchre, on which, as soon as possession could be obtained, they erected a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, giving it the name of St. Mary ad Latinos, to distinguish it from those churches where the service was performed according to the Greek ritual. The building was completed in the year 1048, and from that time its sacred duties were carried on by Benedictine monks appointed for the purpose.

At the same time, two hospitals, one for either sex, were erected in the vicinity of the chapel, for the reception of pilgrims, and eventually each of these hospitals had a separate chapel annexed to it; that for the men being dedicated to St. John the Almoner, and the one destined for the women to St. Mary Magdalen. Many pilgrims, who on their arrival from Europe had

here experienced the kindness and hospitality so liberally extended to all wayfarers, abandoned the idea of returning to their native homes, and formed themselves into a band of charitable assistants, who, without any regular religious profession, devoted themselves to the service of the hospital, and the care of its sick inmates. All the chief cities of Italy, and the South of Europe generally, subscribed liberally for the support of this institution; the merchants of Amalfi, who were its original founders, becoming the stewards of their bounty; and as its beneficial influence became more widely known throughout Europe, from the favourable reports of grateful pilgrims on their return from these distant climes, the amount of their revenue, and consequently of their powers of usefulness, became greatly augmented. Such was the original establishment of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem, which may justly be considered as the cradle of the Order of St. John, and from this pious fraternity of charitable devotees sprang a body of men who for centuries became the terror of the Infidel, and the bulwark of Christendom in the East.

A great and calamitous change was soon however doomed to be the lot of the sacred city. Its Mahometan masters, after four centuries of dominion, became in their turn overpowered by a fierce horde of barbarians bearing the name of Turkomans, who, originally nurtured in the wild regions beyond the Caspian Sea, poured themselves gradually over all the countries bordering on the Euphrates. It was not long ere Jerusalem fell into their hands, and from that moment a new and most disastrous era dawned upon the pilgrims of Europe. Their tribute was still further raised, and they themselves were plundered, maltreated, and subjected to every

kind of atrocity, thus rendering the journey to Jerusalem an undertaking fraught with the greatest possible danger. Pilgrims returning to their homes soon spread the evil tidings, and a loud murmur of horror and indignation arose from every province in Europe.

It was whilst these cruelties were at their height, that, in the year 1093, a Latin monk, who had received the name of Peter the Hermit on account of the seclusion and rigid austerity of his life, having himself witnessed the hardships and barbarities to which the Christian sojourners in Jerusalem were exposed, determined to devote his energies to the alleviation of their sufferings, and applied to the Greek patriarch Simeon for assistance in the good cause. The Greek empire was at this time in far too insecure and tottering a condition to admit of the possibility of any armed intervention being undertaken in that quarter, but Simeon willingly gave Peter a letter of recommendation to Urban II., who then occupied the chair of St. Peter. Fortified with this missive, as well as with one of a similar tenor from Gerard, the rector of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the Hermit proceeded to Rome, and there personally pleaded his holy cause.

The enthusiasm which was excited throughout Europe, and which led to the successive departure of vast armaments from all quarters, formed a prominent feature in the history of the 11th and 12th centuries. After the miserable dispersion of the first undisciplined hordes who, led by the fanatic Peter, rushed headlong towards their destination in tumultuous disarray, the armed chivalry of Europe gradually collected on the plains before Constantinople, where they eventually mustered a strength of 100,000 cavalry and nearly

600,000 foot. The advance of this force, which was commanded in chief by Bohemond, son of the Count of Calabria, was marked by the successive capture of the cities of Nicea, Antioch, Tarsus, and Edessa, and eventually appeared before Jerusalem, the haven of their wishes, on the 7th of June, 1099.

The caliph of Egypt, taking advantage of the warfare which the Turkomans were then carrying on against the Crusaders, had succeeded in once more obtaining possession of Palestine, and was at this period in occupation of the holy city, which he garrisoned by a force of 40,000 men, in addition to 20,000 Mahometan inhabitants capable of bearing arms. The forces of the besiegers, decimated as they had been by their previous struggles, and the privations they had undergone, scarcely numbered 20,000 infantry and 1500 horse.

As soon as they appeared before Jerusalem, the governor arrested all the leading Christians in the city, and threw them into prison, amongst others Peter Gerard, the rector of the Hospital of St. John. Gerard is generally supposed to have been a native of Florence, but the matter is enveloped in doubt, neither his country nor his family having been with any certainty ascertained. He had undertaken a pilgrimage to the East in accordance with the prevailing custom of the age, and, being an eyewitness to the many charities administered by the hospital, he abandoned his intention of a return to Europe, and, devoting himself to the service of the institution, rapidly gained such influence by the piety of his life that he eventually became its rector. At the same time a noble Roman lady, named Agnes, superintended the establishment appointed for the reception of females. Pilgrims of both sexes were

admitted without distinction into the hospital; the Infidels, even, were not excluded from its benefits, in consequence of which the rector gradually became regarded with almost filial veneration by the poor of the city. It was the dread that this influence might be made use of to favour the besiegers which induced the governor, as a matter of precaution, to arrest Gerard.* He, at the same time, caused all the wells within a circuit of five or six miles of the town to be filled up, and levelled every building in the suburbs, burning the wood of which they were composed, so that the besiegers, when they arrived, found nothing but an arid waste encircling the walls of the town.

In spite of the disadvantages caused by the paucity of their numbers and the obstacles thrown in their way, the Crusaders at once decided upon prosecuting the siege of the place. On the fifth day, a general assault was made; but, owing to the want of the proper military engines, the effort proved futile, and the assailants were driven with great loss from the walls. To remedy this defect, Godfrey de Bouillon and Raymond

* A curious and amusing miracle is recorded in connexion with this arrest of Gerard, tending to show the sanctity in which he was held. It is stated that, distressed beyond measure at the miserable condition to which he perceived the Crusaders were reduced from starvation, he was in the practice of mounting the ramparts with loaves of bread concealed beneath his cloak, which he threw over the walls for the use of the Christians. Being one day detected in this charitable act, he was led before the Mahometan governor of the city; but lo! when his cloak was removed, in testimony of the truth of the accusation, it was discovered that the loaves he was carrying in his arms had been miraculously converted into stones, and his life was, in consequence, spared. He was, however, placed in confinement, as being still under suspicion of holding treasonable intercourse with the besiegers.

of Toulouse caused two wooden towers to be constructed, and a second assault took place on the 19th of July. This proved entirely successful; Godfrey, by means of his tower, penetrated within the walls, and, opening the gates of the city, gave admission to the whole army.

A scene of bloodshed and slaughter now took place, such as must ever prove an indelible stain upon otherwise so glorious an achievement. Not content with slaughtering those who were found with arms in their hands, the women and children indiscriminately fell victims to their savage ferocity. No less than 10,000 of the inhabitants were murdered in the Mosque of Omar. The carnage on this spot was so fearful, that the mutilated carcasses were floated by the torrents of blood into the court, and the Christian knights rode in the gore of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses. On the day after the victory, an occurrence if possible still more disgraceful to the Latin chiefs took place. A body of 300 men, to whom Tancred had pledged his knightly word in token of protection, were murdered in cold blood, it having been decided by the assembled leaders that no quarter should on any pretence be given to the Saracens.

At length the slaughter ceased, and, satiated with blood, the commanders of the army, followed by their soldiers, bareheaded and with naked feet, proceeded to the Holy Sepulchre, there to offer up their orisons, and to return thanks for the successful issue of their sacred undertaking. Incongruous as this act may appear so shortly after the scenes recently enacted, it was in strict accordance with the spirit of the times, when the fervent piety of the Christian was closely allied to the intolerant

zeal of the fanatic. Their religious duties accomplished, they proceeded to organise a government for the newly conquered territory, and the majority of the suffrages uniting in favour of Godfrey of Bouillon, a prince as noted for his piety as celebrated for his valour, he was elected to the office of supreme ruler. Refusing the title of king and the diadem which were offered him, upon the plea that he would never wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns, he modestly contented himself with the title of Defender and Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.

Thus, after the lapse of four centuries, we once more find the sacred city shaking off the yoke of Islamism, beneath which it had so long succumbed, and reverting to that Christianity which had in by-gone ages found a resting-place within its walls. It were a curious and instructive study to contemplate the extraordinary changes which time had wrought within its hallowed precincts. Truly it is impossible not to feel how directly the hand of the Lord had been here manifested, and how this city of his own peculiar people had by his divine favour been carried through scenes of desolation and horror, such as would have insured the permanent destruction of any less favoured land. The siege, of which the successful termination has just been narrated, was the tenth which Jerusalem, with varied fortunes, had undergone. It was first captured by David, in the year B.C. 1051, who drove out its Jebusite inhabitants, and, establishing his abode in the city, made it the capital of the Jewish kingdom. In the reign of Rehoboam, the grandson of David, seventy-five years afterwards, it was besieged by Shishak, king of Egypt, who, having obtained admission through the cowardice of

Rehoboam, pillaged the city, and retained a temporary possession of it. The interposition of divine Providence was destined to cause the next attack upon Jerusalem to end more favourably for its inhabitants, the Almighty having been pleased to smite the mighty hosts which Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, in the year 715 B.C. had brought against the place, with such miraculous slaughter, that he was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. The fourth siege to which Jerusalem was subjected, and which ended in its almost entire destruction, was that undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, to enforce the payment of tribute which Zedekiah, trusting to an alliance which he had contracted with the Egyptians, had refused to continue. For eighteen months the inhabitants persisted in their defence, famine and pestilence causing even greater ravages among them than the sword of the enemy. At the expiration of that time they were compelled to yield, and the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the city. Such of the inhabitants as were not massacred were led away into slavery, the temple was reduced to ashes, and the town completely destroyed, nearly 1500 years after its foundation by Melchisedec. By permission of Cyrus, king of Persia, it was rebuilt by Zerobabel, and once more fortified by Nehemiah.

In the year 63 B.C., the Jews having refused a passage to the Roman army which was marching against Aristobulus, Pompey the Great attacked the place, and, owing to the dissensions raging within its walls, he speedily made himself master of it. It is recorded, that in this siege, which lasted during three months, no less than twelve thousand Jews lost their lives. On the same day, twenty-seven years afterwards, it was again captured by

Herod the Great, and on this occasion the slaughter was even greater than before, the obstinacy of the defence having exasperated the conquerors to such a pitch of frenzy, that, on obtaining possession of the town, they immolated to their fury, without regard to age or sex, all who fell into their hands. The seventh siege was that rendered so memorable in history from its being the fulfilment of our Lord's frequent denunciations whilst performing his ministry on earth. Titus made his appearance before the town, with a vast Roman army, in the year 66 A.C. At that time Jerusalem, built upon two very steep mountains, was divided into three parts, — the upper city, the lower city, and the temple; each of which had its own separate fortifications. From this cause, the inhabitants were enabled to protract their defence almost indefinitely; but the perseverance of the besiegers at length overcame all obstacles, and, after a most desperate resistance, Titus succeeded in forcing an entry into the town, which, in spite of all his efforts, he was unable to preserve from destruction. The word of God had said that not one stone should be left upon another, of that magnificent temple which for so many years had been the pride and glory of the Jews, and vain was the mandate, even of the conqueror in his might, when he attempted, in contradiction of that divine prophecy, to prevent its destruction. The Emperor Adrian afterwards destroyed even its ruins, and caused another city to be built on its site, which, in order that there might be nothing left of the ancient Jerusalem, not even a name, he called Ælia. Under such circumstances the city of David had nearly become forgotten; when Constantine, the first Christian emperor of the East, restored

its name, and, calling together the faithful from all parts of Europe, formed it into a Christian colony.

In the year 613 A.C., a countless host of Persian fire-worshippers poured like a torrent upon Palestine, and, carrying their ravages as far as Jerusalem, obtained possession of the city. During the sack which ensued, most of the churches, and the Holy Sepulchre itself, were destroyed by fire; and the sacred cross, so long an object of veneration to Christians, was carried away by the invaders. It was besieged for the ninth time by the Saracens, under the command of Khaled, A.D. 635, and, after a siege of four months' duration, a capitulation was agreed upon, in virtue of which the city fell into the hands of the followers of Mahomet. Whilst in their possession it changed masters several times, until, eventually, it was wrested from their power by the crusading army in the manner we have already narrated.

One of the first acts which Godfrey performed, upon assuming the reins of government in the newly captured city, was to visit the Hospital of St. John. He here found a number of wounded Crusaders, who, having been charitably received by the inmates, were being nursed by them with the most tender solicitude. In proof of the devotion and religious zeal which animated the fraternity at this period, it is recorded that, whilst the funds of the institution were being largely expended in providing delicate and nutritious diet for the sufferers so charitably entertained within its walls, the food of the brothers themselves was of the coarsest description. Godfrey was so much struck with the admirable manner in which the establishment was con-

ducted by Gerard, and with the benefits which it had conferred upon his suffering army, that he immediately endowed it with the manor of Montboise in Brabant.* His example was followed by several of the other leaders of the army, who had, either in their own persons or in those of their followers, experienced the kindness and hospitality of the Order. The main object for which the expedition had been formed being thus accomplished by the rescue of the holy city from the hands of the Infidel, the greater portion of the crusading army returned to Europe; and, the fame of the Hospital being by them spread abroad in every direction, numerous additional benefactions accrued to it: until, eventually, there was scarcely a province in Europe in which the Hospital of St. John did not stand possessed of manorial rights.

The ranks of the Hospitallers received, at the same time, a vast augmentation by the secession of numerous Crusaders from their martial career, who, yielding themselves up entirely to pious duties, joined the charitable fraternity under the sway of Gerard. Under these circumstances, and actuated by a laudable desire to secure the benefits of the institution on a broader and more permanent basis, Gerard proposed that they should constitute themselves into a regularly organised religious body, taking upon themselves the three obligations of poverty, obedience, and chastity; and that they should devote the remainder of their lives to the service of the poor and the sick in the newly established kingdom of Jerusalem. The proposition of the pious rector, coming, as it did, at a time when religious enthusiasm

* Vide Appendix No. 4.

had been excited to an unprecedented degree of fervour by the extraordinary success of the Christian armies, was received with acclamation, and acted upon without delay. The patriarch of Jerusalem received from the candidates the three religious vows, and clothed them in the habit which had been selected for the Order, and which consisted of a plain black robe bearing a white cross with eight points on the left breast.*

Pope Pascal II. shortly afterwards formally sanctioned the establishment of the Order, by a bull published in 1113†, by which the Hospital was exempted from the payment of tithes, the endowments it had received were confirmed to it, and the privilege was conceded to its members of electing their own Superior, whenever a vacancy should occur, without any external interference, either secular or ecclesiastical. After the recovery of Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens, the number of pilgrims to its sacred shrine rapidly increased, and Gerard, in his solicitude for their welfare, caused branch hospitals to be established in most of the maritime provinces of Europe, which were placed under the superintendence and management of members of the Order, and these offshoots

* The first introduction of the Hospitallers into England occurred in the reign of Henry I. A priory was established for their benefit at Clerkenwell, by Jordan Briset, of Wellinghall in Kent. The name Clerkenwell owed its origin to a spring which rose at this spot, and around which the parish clerks of London used to act scripture plays; hence the spot was called Clerks' Well, or Clerkenwell. Henry II., in the year 1180, concentrated the various establishments of the sisters of the Order at Bucklands in Somersetshire, which, from that time, became their principal house in England. For a list of the original members of the Order contemporary with Gerard, vide Appendix No. 5.

† Vide Appendix No. 6.

of the parent establishment, which constituted their first so-called Preceptories, formed points of departure, where pilgrims always found shelter and entertainment, until they could obtain transport to the haven of their wishes.

Gerard, who had already attained a green old age, did not long survive the establishment of his new Order, and in the year 1118 the post of Superior of the Hospital became vacant. In accordance with the terms of the papal bull already mentioned, the fraternity, immediately after the decease of Gerard, proceeded to the election of his successor. Their unanimous choice fell upon Raymond du Puy, a scion of a noble family in Dauphiné. At his accession to the superintendence of the Hospital, Raymond found Baldwin II. seated on the throne of Jerusalem. Brief as the interval had been since the establishment of the kingdom, it had already witnessed three changes of rulers, Godfrey and his brother Baldwin I., who succeeded him, having both died in the interim. The kingdom of Jerusalem consisted at this period of certain isolated cities which were retained in the possession of the Christians, the intervening country being still held by the Saracens. The difficulties of communication were consequently very great, and liable to constant interruptions from the predatory attacks of these Infidels.

Raymond du Puy had no sooner assumed the reins of office, than his mind, naturally of a chivalric and warlike bent, led him to suggest a material alteration in the constitution of the Order. He proposed to the fraternity, that, whilst they retained all the obligations imposed upon them by the vows they had taken on their admission, they should add the further one of bearing arms in the defence of their religion. Although this

proposition was diametrically opposed to the leading principles upon which the institution had been founded, which principles had but a few years before been received with the utmost enthusiasm, and established by acclamation, it nevertheless received a ready assent and found a sympathising approval from every bosom.

A little reflection will readily account for this apparently contradictory fact. When Gerard, who was himself a man of peaceful habits and bred in an almost monastic seclusion, established his fraternity on an entirely religious basis, rendering the abandonment of a warlike career a matter of course, he found no lack of ready followers from the ranks of the crusading army. They had passed through a period of extreme peril and hardship, they had fought their way step by step at the point of the sword, until, decimated in numbers and satiated with warfare, they had at length achieved the object of their expedition. Whilst prostrate with the exhaustion consequent on so lengthened a struggle, and eager for the repose so necessary to restore their failing energies, filled too at the moment with all the religious veneration which the sacred reminiscences of the holy ground on which they trod was calculated to inspire, it is not to be wondered at that they embraced with eagerness the peaceful career thus presented for their adoption, combining, as it did, the gratification of their religious enthusiasm with the calm and repose so grateful to their jaded senses. The lapse, however, of a few years of inactivity wrought a marvellous change in their feelings. The quiet and seclusion of a monastic life soon lost the charms which it had at first possessed; the habits of a career of excitement and energy could not be thus suddenly changed, without at the same time

producing a sense of inertness and lassitude; when, therefore, their new Superior, filled with the same restless cravings as themselves, sought to restore to their institution the active exercise of that profession which had been their delight from childhood, and which had been abandoned in a hasty fit of fanaticism, it is not surprising that his propositions should have been hailed with eagerness.

The suggestions of Raymond du Puy met with the warmest approval from Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem. The constant state of warfare to which he was exposed on every side, the incessant depredations of the Infidels, and the necessity which existed of supporting his position and his crown by the force of arms, led him to receive with the utmost favour a proposition which was to bring to the support of his cause a body of men highly trained in all the chivalric exercises of the age, inflamed with religious ardour to a pitch well nigh of fanaticism, and unfettered by any of those social ties in Europe which had seduced so many of his followers into an abandonment of the support of his kingdom. Being thus upheld on every side, Raymond proceeded without delay to carry his design into execution, and, the patriarch of Jerusalem being a consenting party, the entire body took a fresh oath, by which they bound themselves to support the cause of Christianity against the Infidels in the Holy Land, to the last drop of their blood, but pledging themselves, at the same time, on no pretence whatever to bear arms for any other purpose.

From this moment we may consider the Order of St. John of Jerusalem as permanently established on that military basis which it ever afterwards retained until its

final dispersion, and although Gerard must be considered as the original founder of the Order, it is to Raymond du Puy that the honour belongs of being its first military Master. When we consider the glorious and brilliant achievements which through so many centuries have adorned its annals, when we look at the long list of names, ennobled by a series of magnificent achievements, successively enrolled beneath its banners, we cannot deny to the chivalric mind that first contemplated the establishment of such a fraternity, combining within its obligations such apparently contradictory duties, and yet fulfilling its purposes with such imperishable renown to itself, and such lasting benefit to Christendom, the meed of praise which it so justly claims.

The encroachments of the Infidel are no longer dreaded in Europe; the tide of invasion which for so many centuries created a constant struggle between the crescent and the cross has long since turned, and receded within its original limits, and the necessity for such an Order as that whose history we are now tracing having ceased, that Order itself, after a rapid degeneration, has at last lost its political existence; but its name will remain to the latest posterity, coupled with some of the most heroic deeds that have ever adorned the profession of arms. The days of chivalry are at an end; but the heart still throbs, and the pulse beats high, as we trace its career, like a meteor's flash, dazzling the page of history.

CHAP. II.

REGULATIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW ORDER. — ADMISSION OF CANDIDATES. — ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMANDERIES. — REGULATIONS RESPECTING DRESS. — DEFENSIVE ARMOUR: SCALE MAIL, CHAIN MAIL, PLATE ARMOUR, THE HELMET, THE SHIELD. — OFFENSIVE ARMOUR: THE LANCE, THE SWORD, THE BATTLE-AXE THE DAGGER. — THE DESTRIER, OR WAR-HORSE.

BEFORE entering into the history of the achievements of the Order of St. John, it may be well to devote a short space to the consideration of its government and internal polity, as first established under Raymond du Puy.

Having been originally organised for charitable purposes only, it successively received the character of a religious, republican, military, and aristocratic constitution. It must be considered as religious, since every member took the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty. It was republican, since by the original constitution of the Order their chief was always selected from among themselves, by their own nomination. It was military, since two of the three classes into which it was divided were constantly armed, and waged an unceasing war with the Infidels; and it was aristocratic, since, as we shall presently see, none but the first class had any share in the legislative and executive power.

To regulate the new administration, rendered necessary by the changes in the functions of the Order which he had introduced, Raymond du Puy assembled the

leading members of his Hospital, who bore the name of Master's Assistants, and, forming them into a chapter or council, he submitted, for their revision, the ordinances originally made by Gerard. It was at this meeting that the first statutes for the governance of the Order under its new character were instituted, which rules were submitted to, and received the sanction of, the Pope.* One of the first steps taken by this council was to divide the Order into three different classes, according to their birth, rank, and functions. The first class, which may be considered as the aristocracy of the fraternity, received the name of Knights of Justice; the second, which included the clerical portion of the Order, were denominated Religious Chaplains; and the third, or lower class, were called the Serving Brothers.† In addition to the three classes just mentioned, which constituted the regular members of the Order, a further body of men was attached to the institution, under the title of Donats, who, without placing themselves under the same obligations as the others, were employed in the different offices of the convent and hospital. In token of their connexion with the Order, they wore what was called the demi-cross, which was granted to those who were considered to have deserved reward whilst under

* The original rule established by Raymond du Puy for the governance of his fraternity was lost at the capture of the city of Acre by the Infidels in 1289. In the year 1300, however, Pope Boniface VIII., at the request of William de Villaret, the then Grand Master, presented the Hospital with a fresh bull, in which the contents of du Puy's original rule were recapitulated, with a few alterations. Vide Appendix No. 7.

† The first distinction in the dresses of these classes was made by Pope Alexander IV., in a bull published at Anagnia, in 1259. Vide Appendix No. 8.

employment by the institution. There were also religious dames of the Order of St. John, as alluded to in the preceding chapter, and these ladies had branch establishments in France, Italy, and Spain. The rules for their reception were similar to those for the Knights of Justice, and the proofs of noble descent which were demanded at their hands were in some cases even more rigid.

The objects contemplated by Raymond du Puy, in the establishment of his Order on a military footing, cannot be better expressed than by giving the precise words of the first regulation laid down by him for their guidance: —

"In the name of our Lord, Amen; I, Raymond, servant of the poor in Christ Jesus, and guardian of the Hospital of Jerusalem, together with the council of the chapter of brothers, have framed the following regulations, to be observed in the Hospital of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem. I desire, therefore, that every brother, who shall engage himself in the service of the poor, and in the defence of the Catholic Church, shall maintain and observe, by the grace of God, the three vows which they have made, in which are comprehended chastity, obedience, that is, that they will comply with the commands of the Master in everything, and that they shall pass their lives without the possession of any private property, since God will demand an account to be rendered by them, on all these points, at the day of judgment. Our Order has been endowed, augmented, and enriched, since its first foundation, by the liberality, assistance, and favour of the Holy Apostolic See, of the Catholic kings and princes, and by the piety of the faithful, with lands, possessions, rights of justice, benefactions,

privileges, and exemptions, in order that the Knights, who shall have made their profession, should join its ranks through true charity, which is the mother and sure foundation of all other virtues, from a sense of hospitality, and from a sincere attachment to their faith, and that, actuated by these several motives, they should only strive to distinguish themselves by their merit. The soldiers of Jesus Christ are destined to fight only for his glory, to uphold his worship, and the Catholic religion; to love, revere, and preserve justice; and to favour, sustain, and defend the oppressed, without neglecting the sacred duties of hospitality. The Knights of the Hospital, therefore, in piously acquitting themselves of these several duties, shall bear upon their robe a cross with eight points, in order that they may remember to bear in their hearts the cross of Jesus Christ adorned with the eight virtues which accompany it, and that, after a due exercise of charity, they should take the sword in hand, for the extermination of Mahometans, and of all who abandon the true religion. From the moment they shall have devoted themselves to this sacred cause, they should animate themselves by the example of the Maccabees; those holy soldiers and martyrs, who combated so gloriously in the maintenance of their religion, and who, though few in number, have often, by the assistance of God, overthrown the most formidable armies. They should also bind themselves to the exact observance of that which they have promised to God, in making the three vows retained by the regulation, of chastity, obedience, and poverty, and to the practice of all the other moral and religious virtues; so that, inflamed with charity, they shall not fear to take the

sword in hand, and to expose themselves with prudence, temperance, and energy, to every kind of danger, for the defence of the glory of Jesus Christ, and of the sacred cross, in the cause of justice, and in that of the widows and orphans. There can be no greater proof of charity than that of laying down one's life for one's friend, that is to say, for all true Catholics; in this consists their duty, their vocation, the mode of life which they have selected, their justification, and their sanctification; so that, in closing the pilgrimage of this mortal life, they may attain to that eternal recompense for which God has created them. Those who shall be convicted of having neglected their duty, misused or overlooked occasions where they could have done good service in any war undertaken for the interests of Christianity, the punishment of evil-doers, and the assistance of the good, shall be rigorously punished according to the statutes and rules of the Order."

After this enumeration of the general principles upon which his Order was founded, Raymond proceeds to lay down the form in which the ceremony of Installation is to be carried out:—

"Those who have resolved upon dedicating themselves to the service of the sick, and to the defence of the Catholic religion, in the habit of our Order, are received at their profession in the following manner. He should know that he is about to put off the old man, and to be regenerated; he should, therefore, confess himself humbly of all his sins, according to the custom of the Church, and, after having received absolution, he is to present himself in a secular habit, without a girdle, in order that he may appear perfectly free at the time of entering upon so sacred an engagement, with a lighted

taper in the hand, which represents charity. He is to hear mass, and to receive the holy communion. He is then to present himself most respectfully before the person appointed to perform the ceremony, and to request to be received into the company of brothers, and into the holy Order of the Hospital of Jerusalem. The brother who receives him will address him in a short speech, to confirm him in his pious desire. He will explain how salutary and advantageous it is to the soul, that he should consecrate himself to the service of the poor in Christ Jesus, that he should be constantly employed in works of mercy, and that he should devote himself to the service and defence of the Christian faith; a favour which many have desired, and have not been able to obtain. He shall point out the engagement he will have to enter into of perfect obedience; the severity of the rules, which will no longer permit him to act for himself, but, on the contrary, oblige him absolutely to renounce his own will and pleasure, and implicitly to comply with that of his superiors. The candidate is to be asked, whether he is disposed to submit to all these obligations; whether he has ever before taken the vows of any other order; whether he has ever been married; if his marriage has been consummated; if he owes any considerable sums of money; or if he be a slave: because, if, after having taken the vows, it should be discovered that he has done any of these acts, or has been in the last-mentioned situation, he will be immediately stripped of his habit with disgrace, as a deceiver, and given up to those who may have any such claims upon him. If he declares that he has contracted no such engagements, the brother who receives him presents to him an open missal, upon which he is to place both his

hands, and, having answered all the above questions, he is to make his profession in the following terms: 'I, N——, do vow and promise to Almighty God, to the Holy Eternal Virgin Mary, mother of God, and to St. John the Baptist, to render henceforward, by the grace of God, perfect obedience to the Superior placed over me, by the choice of the Order, to live without personal property, and to preserve my chastity.' Having taken his hands from the book, the brother who receives him says as follows: 'We acknowledge you as the servant of the poor and sick, and as having consecrated yourself to the defence of the Catholic Church.'—To which he is to reply, 'I acknowledge myself as such.' After having kissed the book he shall place it upon the altar, which he likewise kisses, and then returns it to the receiving brother, in token of perfect obedience, upon which the brother, taking the mantle and showing him the white cross upon it, shall thus address him: 'Do you believe, my brother, that this is the symbol of that holy cross to which Jesus Christ was fastened, and on which he died for the redemption of our sins?'—The postulant shall reply, 'Yes, I do verily believe it.' The other then adds, 'It is also the sign of our Order, which we command you constantly to wear.' The new brother shall kiss the sign of the cross, and the other then throwing the mantle over his shoulders, in such a manner that the cross shall be placed on his left breast, and at the same time kissing him, shall say: 'Take this sign, in the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy Eternal Virgin Mary, and of St. John the Baptist, for the increase of faith, the defence of the Christian name, and the service of the poor. We

place this cross upon your breast, my brother, that you may love it with all your heart, and may your right hand ever fight in its defence, and for its preservation. Should it ever happen that in combating for Jesus Christ against the enemies of the faith, you should retreat, desert the standard of the cross, and take to flight in so just a war, you will be stripped of this truly holy sign, according to the statutes and customs of the Order, as having broken the vow you have just taken, and will be cut off from our body, as an unsound and corrupt member.' He shall then fasten the strings of his mantle round his neck, and shall say: 'Receive the yoke of the Lord, for it is easy and light, and you shall find rest for your soul. We promise you nothing but bread and water, and a simple habit of little value; we give to you, your parents and your relations, a share in the good works performed by our Order and by our brethren, both now and hereafter, throughout the world.' Upon which all who are present upon the occasion shall embrace the newly professed knight, in token of friendship, peace, and brotherly love."

Such was the ceremonial of reception, as laid down at the first institution of the Order, and it continued in force, without alteration, during the entire period in which the fraternity existed; though how widely they swerved from the true intent of these vows will be seen hereafter.

The ceremonial for depriving a Knight of his habit, and for carrying into effect his expulsion from the Order, formed the subject of regulations equally minute and detailed as that just described. The principal reasons for which this sentence of deprivation appears to have

been contemplated was to guard against any exhibition of cowardice before the enemy. This was regarded as a crime of the very first magnitude; for, whilst a Knight who had undergone deprivation for any other offence against the code of the Order was eligible for restoration after a due exhibition of penitence, he who had disgraced the sacred banner beneath which he fought, and had turned his back upon that Infidel foe, against whom it was his duty, as it ought to have been considered his privilege, to wage an unceasing and unrelenting warfare, was stripped of the symbols of his profession with every mark of ignominy, and was expelled from that honoured fraternity on whose fair name he had brought disgrace by his pusillanimity.

The powers of government were vested in the hands of a Supreme Council, presided over by the Master, and all questions connected with the well-being of the fraternity, as well as the collection and expenditure of their large and yearly increasing revenues, were guided exclusively by their decision. The income of the Order, at this period, consisted of landed property in every part of Europe; the fruit of the benevolent donations which had been lavished, with unsparing hand, upon the community.

During the first years which succeeded the acquisition of these territorial possessions, they were farmed out to members of the laity entirely unconnected with the institution, and these tenants were supposed to remit an annual rent to the treasury at Jerusalem, in proportion to the value of the lands they held. This system, however, was very soon found to be extremely faulty in the working. The difficulty of obtaining their just rights from persons who had no interest in the

prosperity of the community, and who, from the extreme distance which separated them, found every facility for evading the just claims made upon them, soon caused the most alarming deficits to appear in their finances. In order to guard against this evil, and to insure the punctual and regular transmission of the rents of their numerous manors, it was determined to place over each of them a member of the Order, who should act as a steward of the funds committed to his control. Establishments were formed on a scale of magnitude varying according to the value of the properties they were intended to supervise, and superintendents were elected by the Council for their governance. These were taken from amongst the senior members and were not confined to the Knights of Justice only, a certain number of Chaplains and Serving Brothers being also nominated to the dignity.

Their duties were not confined to the collection and transmission of the revenues only. These establishments formed at the same time branches where members were professed, and the various duties carried on, in a precisely similar manner as in the parent house at Jerusalem. Periodical draughts were here collected, who, as their services were required for action against the Infidels of the East, were called to Jerusalem by the command of the Master, and when not engaged upon this duty they were to be found leading the van in the warfare then unceasingly waging against the Moors in Spain and in the South of Europe. Wherever an Infidel foe was to be encountered, thither it was the duty of every true Knight of St. John to hasten; but they were strictly forbidden, upon any account whatsoever, to interfere in any of the struggles carried on

between Christian princes. On the first creation of these establishments they were denominated Preceptories, the superior being called the Preceptor; but, eventually, the name became changed to that of Commandery, by which they were always afterwards known. The Council reserved to themselves the power of at any time recalling a Commander from his post, and substituting another in his place, at their pleasure; he being merely considered as the steward of their property. Time, however, gradually wrought a great change in the relative position which the Commanders held to the Council; and, eventually, a nomination to a Commandery came to be considered in the light of a legal acquisition, subject only to the payment of a certain amount of annual tribute to the public treasury, which tribute received the name of Responsions.

Strong prohibitions were issued against the use of any ornaments or devices in either the dress or the arms of the brotherhood; a restriction which became the more necessary in the eyes of their pious founder, owing to the increasing taste for splendour which was even then gradually creeping into the habits of the age. When the first germs of chivalry commenced to show themselves in the midst of the torrent of barbarism which had overthrown the mighty empire of Rome, the rude simplicity of the times had limited the construction of arms to the purposes only for which they were intended; and the introduction of anything like ornament appears to have been utterly unknown. As, however, time wore on, and brought in its train the usual concomitant of an advance in civilisation and luxury, new ideas were gradually grafted upon the original principles of chivalry.

Whereas, in its earlier ages, duty to his religion and to his country were the only obligations imposed upon a knight, the advancing spirit of civilisation insensibly introduced another element into the code, and lady love was ere long heard of as the noblest incentive to chivalric daring. So inseparably did this feeling become connected with all the after character of the system, that it may be looked upon as its mainspring. Every true knight considered that the most daring act of gallantry was amply rewarded by the sweet smile of approval with which he was greeted from the lady of his love; and, bearing upon his person the favoured colours of his mistress, he carried them wherever peril was to be braved, or honour was to be gained. Under these circumstances, it was but natural that the rigid simplicity which characterised preceding times should give way to the introduction of that personal adornment which the new phase of chivalry had generated.

Armour came to be no longer constructed merely with a view to its uses, but ornamentation, more or less elaborate, rapidly introduced itself. The gorgeous insignia of heraldry date their origin from this new sentiment; and each succeeding generation outvied the former in the splendour and magnificence of their equipments. At the period of which we are treating, viz. the early part of the twelfth century, this innovation had not reached to any great height; it had, however, been so far introduced as to render it advisable in the eyes of Raymond du Puy to make a special regulation against its introduction into his fraternity. No decoration of any kind was permitted upon any portion of the armour, either offensive or defensive, with the sole exception of their distinctive badge of the cross;

and this was only to be borne on the pennon, the surcoat, and the shield. This allusion to the restrictions imposed upon the ornamentation permitted in the equipment of the Knights of St. John leads naturally to the question as to how that equipment was composed.

Armour may be divided into two classes, offensive and defensive: the former, as its name implies, including all those weapons used for purposes of offence; and the latter the covering for man and horse, provided for his protection from the assaults of his opponent. At the time of the first Crusade, at the end of the eleventh century, defensive armour consisted simply of a leathern tunic, on which were fastened rows of iron rings. The word cuirass, now inappropriately used to designate the steel breastplate still worn by some of the heavy cavalry in most armies, is traceable to the French word *cuir*, in connexion with this leathern tunic. It was not long before these rings gave way to small iron plates, lapping over each other on the same principle as the scales of a fish, from which it derived its name, being called scale mail. The form of armour previously described was simply called mail, from the Latin word *macula*, a net, the meshes of which it was supposed to resemble. The leathern tunic, on which these varieties of harness were borne, was called a hauberk. The lower members were defended by chausses, a term synonymous with the modern word breeches. When the mail tunic and the chausses were joined into one piece, as was frequently the custom, the combination was called the haubergeon. In either case, the crown and back of the head were protected by a hood of mail, which was sometimes detached, but oftener formed a part of the hauberk

or haubergeon; in which case the wearer was enabled to throw it back upon his shoulders, when he wished to disencumber his head from its weight. This mail not only protected the back of the head, but, coming round to the front, covered also the mouth and chin, the function of breathing being entirely performed by the nose. The hands were protected by a continuation of the sleeves of the frock, which passed over the fingers; and the same duty was performed with regard to the feet, by a continuation of the chausses.

It may be mentioned here, that the first symptom of the introduction of dandyism in the construction of armour commenced with the feet, it being the fashion for the toe of the mail to project several inches in length, and to incline downwards.

Numerous improvements were gradually introduced into this system of mail armour, but none of sufficient importance to warrant any detailed description. The wars of the Crusades, however, having caused the Asiatic mode of warfare to become better known in Europe, a vast improvement was introduced in the form of the defensive armour borrowed from the Saracens. In lieu of the rings of mail being sewn upon the dress, they were interlaced with one another, each ring having four others inserted into it, the garment being thus formed of the rings themselves, without any leathern foundation. This new arrangement was further improved by the introduction of double rings, rendering it not only impervious to a sword-cut, but also to the thrust of the lance. Another great advantage, which immediately secured its general adoption by the chivalry of Europe, was its extreme portability. A warrior was no longer compelled to encumber himself by the weight of his armour

while he was travelling. Being both flexible and compact, it could be rolled up after the manner of a cloak, in which form it was borne by the esquire, on the hinder part of his saddle.

Gradually, however, the improvement in the construction of weapons of offence led to the necessity of adopting still further measures of protection. Plates of solid steel were attached to the breast, and to other parts of the body, where a dearly bought experience had taught the wearer the insufficiency of his metal rings. New plates were continually added on the discovery of fresh weak points in the harness, until, eventually, the knight became encased in an entire double covering of mail and plate. It being then found that the mail had ceased to be of any service, it was gradually discarded, and the warrior was entirely covered with steel plates, which received their names from those parts of the body for whose protection they had been constructed. The pectoral covered the breast, the gorget the throat, the ailettes the shoulders, the brassarts the arms, and the cuisses the thighs, whilst the scaly gauntlet formed an ample protection to the hands.

Defensive armour had now become so ponderous, that its protective advantages were nearly counterbalanced by its extreme oppressiveness; and cases not unfrequently occurred where the wearers were smothered to death in the *mêlée* of battle, from not being able to rise after being overthrown in a charge. A knight once prostrate became in fact little better than an inert mass of steel, unable to assist himself.

Over this armour the knight wore a dress, usually denominated a surcoat or a tabard; its form varied with the caprice of the wearer; it had, however, one constant

peculiarity, namely, that it was always sleeveless. As this surcoat was worn over the armour upon grand occasions, it was here that the growing taste for splendour and ornamentation developed itself with the greatest rapidity. Cloths of gold or silver, ermine, miniver, sables, or other rich furs, were employed in its manufacture. The arms were borne upon this garment, whence the derivation of the term *coat of arms*. The Knights of St. John were restricted to a plain surcoat, their whole harness being covered with a black mantle bearing upon it a white cross.

Whilst the covering of the body underwent all these manifold changes, that for the head had become subject to a similar revolution. The mail hood being found to be no longer a sufficient protection, an iron helmet was introduced, whose shape fluctuated between the conical and the cylindrical. This helmet was not intended to supplant the use of the hood, but was worn over it. To protect the face, a broad piece of iron was at first introduced, which connected the frontlet of the helmet with the mail over the mouth. This protection, however, being found very imperfect, cheek pieces were substituted, consisting of bars placed either horizontally or perpendicularly, and which formed an adequate safeguard against a sword-cut. The next improvement was that of the avantaile or mask, which was attached to the helmet, and had apertures for the eyes and mouth. By means of pivots, it was so constructed that the knight could raise or drop the covering over his face; in this form it was termed a visor. Subsequently plates were brought up from the chin, and this movable portion of the helmet was called beaver, from the Italian *bevere*, to drink, access to the mouth being thereby obtained.

The top of the helmet was always surmounted by that portion of the armorial bearings which, from this cause, has been termed the crest; but the Knights of St. John were not permitted to adorn their helmets with any such heraldic distinctions.

The shield, which was borne upon the left arm, completed the defensive armour of the knight. Its shape was either oblong or triangular, wide at the top in order to afford due protection to the body, and tapering at the bottom where it was not required to cover so large a surface. It bore usually the heraldic insignia of its owner, together with the motto, or war-cry he was in the habit of using in battle. The Knights of St. John, however, bore only the cross upon their shield, all other device being forbidden to them.

The offensive arms in general use were four in number; namely, the lance, the sword, the battle-axe, and the dagger. The lance, which was the chief offensive weapon of the age, was made of the toughest ash procurable, with a sharp iron head fastened to its top. The length varied according to the strength and size of the bearer, there being no regulation on that head. Below the point was usually fixed an ensign, on which was carried some portion of his heraldic emblems, which, in the case of the Hospitallers, was, as usual, restricted to the cross. This ensign was called gonfanon, or pennant. When not in use, the knight carried his lance slung to the saddle-bow, the end of it resting upon the point of his toe, whence he could seize it readily, and bringing it to a horizontal position, couch it beneath his right arm. When in this position its point projected many feet beyond his horse's head.

The usual weapon, when in close quarters, or *mêlée*,

as it was called, was the sword. This was constructed of the finest steel, long, straight, broad, and double-edged. Spain was always famous for the superior temper of its sword-blades, and in the twelfth century the sword-makers of Saragossa had achieved as wide-spread a renown as those of Toledo have done in later times. As, however, the Eastern nations appear to have excelled the countries of Europe in everything appertaining to the manufacture of iron, more especially as connected with arms and armour, so we find the sword-blades of Damascus taking a place in the estimation of all good judges, which was never attained by any of European production. The chivalry of a family was represented by its sword, which descended as an heir-loom from father to son. The cross-hilt, which formed its handle, was often made to do the duty of a crucifix; and, when the wounded knight lay stretched upon the gory plain, he raised the emblematic cross before those eyes rapidly clouding with the shadows of death, and, breathing the short prayer which constituted the sum of his religious knowledge, pressed it devoutly to his lips. The handle of the sword served also for another purpose, the seal of the owner being engraved on its head. As few of the warriors of that period had attained what was then considered the monkish acquirement of writing, this seal, rudely impressed upon wax, served as a signature, the only one, in fact, he could append to any document requiring that attestation.

It was a common practice for inscriptions to be written upon the blade of the sword, the quaint morality of many of which would raise a smile to the lips of modern readers. It was also not unusual for the swords of celebrated warriors to receive names. The well-known

weapon of King Arthur, called *Escalibert*, afterwards corrupted into *Caliburn*, must be familiar to every reader of ancient romance. Ariosto mentions that the sword of Rogero was called Balisardo, and that of Orlando Durindana. The sword was borne upon the person, either by a belt round the waist, or by a baldric descending from the right shoulder across the body; and its material varied according to the wealth or caprice of the wearer, from the simplicity of tanned leather to the splendour of that of Prince Arthur, which

> "Shind like twinkling stars, with stones most precious rare."

Although the sword was the principal weapon used in close combat, there were not wanting warriors in that period who loved to exercise their brawny arms by the use of more ponderous instruments. With these the martel and battle-axe were favourite weapons. To every reader of English history the name of Richard Cœur-de-Lion will be at once recalled, upon the mention of this his favourite arm, who, as the old song says,

> "Let him make an axe for the nones,
> To break therewith the Sarasyns bones;
> The head was wrought right weel,
> Therein was twenty pounds of steel."

The martel, or mascle, as it was sometimes called, was a heavy steel or iron hammer, which dealt out destruction, either by the weight of its fall, or the sharpness of its edge. In the good old times, when the Holy Apostolic Church was often, in a temporal as well as in a spiritual sense, the church militant, and when mitred abbots and priestly dignitaries were wont upon occasion

to sink the churchman in the warrior, and to buckle on the carnal weapons of warfare, the martel and the battle-axe were the only arms they used. The canons of their church, with a view to preventing the possibility of any of her sons joining in those scenes of strife so constantly raging in all the countries where her sway was acknowledged, had forbidden them to wield the sword; but they, more eager to follow the dictates of their own ambitious cravings than ready to submit themselves to her holy will, had chosen to translate the restrictions thus imposed upon them, in a literal, rather than in a general, sense. Whilst therefore they studiously refrained from wearing a sword upon any warlike expedition, they saw, or affected to see, no disobedience to the laws of their church in carrying with them to the field of battle that most unecclesiastical of weapons the martel; ay, and in using it too in a most unclerical manner, as many a broken pate and cloven skull could testify, were it but alive to tell the tale. The axe, however, was never a favourite amongst the more polite and courteous of the knighthood; and one cause of its unpopularity may be traced to the fact, that it was ordinarily in use among the Flemings, and was therefore coupled with ideas of trade, an association which in those days bore with it a degradation unknown in our more modern money-getting times.

The equipment of offensive arms was completed by the dagger, rendered necessary from the extreme strength of the defensive armour. The body of his adversary being coated in every part with plates of steel, on which the lance broke, the arrow glanced, and the sword could make no impression whatever, it became a difficult matter, even after he had been unhorsed by the rude

shock of the encounter, to despatch him effectually. A thin dagger had been consequently added, which could be inserted between the joints of the harness, and through these, the only vulnerable points, the death wound could be inflicted. By an anomaly more apparent than real, this weapon was called the dagger of mercy; but it received this name from the obligation which the laws of chivalry imposed upon the successful combatant to show mercy, if, when about to make use of it, the prostrate foe yielded himself his prisoner, rescue or no rescue.

Any account of knightly equipment would be incomplete without a reference to the horse, which formed so important a part of it. Weighty as was the panoply of steel worn by his rider when fully accoutred, it was necessary that the horse should be an animal of great power. England had not, in those times, exhibited that superiority in the breeding of her horses which she has since attained, and Spain was the country which supplied the most powerful and mettlesome chargers then procurable. After the Crusades had thrown the countries of Europe into closer intercourse with the tribes of the East, and the powers of endurance of the Arab steed became for the first time known, it was very generally preferred to those of any other country; for, what it wanted in bone and sinew, it more than made up in blood and power of endurance. Perhaps, however, the perfection of a war-horse was attained by a mixture of the two races, in which a combination of the good points of both parents might be sought.

The *destrier*, or war-horse, was protected with armour very much on the same principle as that of his rider, his head, chest, and flanks being completely covered,

The taste for ornamentation, as it crept in, found an ample field for display in his caparisons, the bridle forming generally the culminating point in his splendour: but on this head, as on all others, the restrictions of our religious Order were most implicit; the regulation being that the horse furniture of the soldiers of Jesus Christ should be free from all golden or silver ornaments.

It may be well to mention here, in conclusion, that every portion of a knight's armour bore with it an allegory, or hidden religious meaning. His sword, formed in the resemblance of a cross, was typical of the death of Christ, and taught him likewise that it was his duty to wield it against the enemies of his religion. Its double edge was considered significant of chivalry and justice; his spear was the emblem of truth, on account of its unswerving straightness, and its iron point marked that strength which is its distinctive property. In like manner, the mace was supposed to represent courage; the helmet, modesty; the hauberk, that spiritual panoply which should protect the knight from the frailties of the flesh; the spurs, diligence; and the shield exhibited the duty of a knight himself, he being considered as a barrier and protection to his country.

There was much that was great and noble in all connected with the laws of chivalry; and when acted up to, in due accordance with their spirit, there was much, very much, in the feeling which dictated them, tending to soften and civilise the rude character of the times. That many of its tenets must appear to modern readers impracticable, nay, even ridiculous, is doubtless true; still, equally true it is, that they were admirably suited to the temper of the times in which they held their sway; and many an act of ruthless tyranny, barbarous

spoliation, or wanton aggression, was checked by the feeling that injured innocence and oppressed weakness could claim a ready champion in every true knight, without reference to country or religion. In these days of civilisation, in which it is our good fortune to live, and in which the laws give a ready redress for all injuries sustained, the armed intervention of the mailed knight can never be needed; but in the days of our forefathers the power of the law was comparatively feeble, and he who was not prepared to hold his ground by the strength of his own right hand would have fared but ill in the race of life, had it not been for the generous intervention of the chivalric code.

CHAP. III.

DATE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MILITARY ORDER OF ST. JOHN. — CAMPAIGNS OF ANTIOCH AND EDESSA. — FOUNDATION OF THE TEMPLARS AND OF THE ORDER OF ST. LAZARUS. — EMBASSY OF JOUBERT, AND MARRIAGE OF RAYMOND OF POITIERS. — LEGACY OF THE KING OF NAVARRE. — LOSS OF EDESSA. — ASSASSINATION OF ZENGHI. — ATTEMPTED RECAPTURE OF EDESSA. — SECOND CRUSADE. — SIEGE OF DAMASCUS. ADVANCE OF THE JARROQUINS. THEIR REPULSE AND OVERTHROW. — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ASCALON. — JEALOUSIES OF THE CLERGY TOWARDS THE ORDER. — DEATH OF RAYMOND DU PUY.

THE precise date at which the changes related at the end of the first chapter took place is more or less a point of dispute, there being no record left of the fact; a matter sufficiently strange, when the vast importance of the alterations, involving as they did the complete reconstruction of the Order, is taken into consideration. Reasoning, however, from analogy, it cannot well be placed at a later date than 1118, the very first year of the accession of Raymond du Puy to the office of Master. Indeed, the two leading chroniclers of the achievements of the Knights of St. John differ but little in the date which they assign to the accession of Raymond: the Abbé Vertot giving it as having occurred in 1118, and the Chevalier Boisgelin in 1120. Other historians, however, amongst whom may be enumerated Boissat, Baudouin, and the Abbé Roux, place the ac-

cession of Raymond at as late a date as 1131, accounting for the interval between Gerard's death in 1118 and that time by the insertion of a second rector, named Roger.* The authority for this interpolation, since the name of Roger appears nowhere in the archives of the Order, is stated to be a deed of gift of certain lands, presented by Atton, Count of Abrussa, to Roger, the governor of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The date of this deed appears to be 1120, but there is not any record of it whatever now remaining; owing to which circumstance the fact itself ought to be received with great caution. There exists a stronger motive than would at first sight appear for this mystification in the date of the origin of the military organisation of the Order. It became, in after years, a fertile source of dispute between the Knights of St. John and those of the Temple, whose foundation will be noted in the course of the present chapter, as to which of the two Orders could claim priority on account of the relative antiquity of their foundations. It appears distinctly enough, that the founder of the Order of the Temple did not commence the original establishment of his small fraternity till the year 1118; and the institution of that Order was not formed upon a regular basis until at least ten years after that date. If, therefore, it can be proved that Raymond succeeded to the government of the Hospital on the death of Gerard in 1118, and at once proceeded to organise his brotherhood upon a martial basis, the Order of St. John claims by right the priority of formation; if, however, a second rector

* Bosio, the most authentic of the old historians, alludes to this difference in opinion, but does not positively join either party.

named Roger did actually exist, and if Raymond was not appointed to the office until 1131, it appears very probable that the seniority might be claimed by the Knights of the Temple. In the absence of positive testimony upon this fact it becomes necessary to argue by analogy, and the weight of evidence appears to show the former date to be correct, it being recorded that the Hospitallers took part in an engagement fought by Baldwin II. against the Infidels in the year 1119. Although the attempt has been made to attribute the establishment of the military system to other Masters than Raymond du Puy; still, no evidence has been produced sufficient to shake the unanimous record of all the early historians, who attribute the change to him. The Chevalier Taafe would carry it back to Gerard, the founder of the Order; whilst Addison, anxious to claim the priority for his *protégés* the Templars, endeavours to fix it upon Gilbert d'Ascali, the fourth Master, at the epoch of his unfortunate expedition into Egypt in 1169. Upon a careful review of the evidence adduced on all sides, it appears that 1119 must have been about the date at which the system was inaugurated.

At this time, in addition to the kingdom of Jerusalem, the Latins held sway over other detached principalities, which formed the outworks of that exposed and constantly harassed monarchy. Such were the counties of Edessa and Tripoli, and the principality of Antioch, which, though constituting independent governments, were more or less under the influence of, and always in alliance with it. Indeed, placed as these small struggling states were, surrounded by implacable enemies, and liable to constant attacks from vastly

superior forces on every side, isolated from all assistance save that of their own good swords, had there not been the strongest bond between them they could not have existed many months. Feeling, however, that the support of each was necessary for the safety of all, an Infidel attack was no sooner menaced in any one quarter, than speedy and effectual succour was at once despatched from all the others; and the prowess of the Latin chivalry in those times was such, that we do not find their Moslem foe ever able to withstand the impetuosity of their onslaught, save when vastly superior in numbers.

The cause of the battle alluded to above as having occurred in 1119, was owing to one of these descents of the Turkoman tribes upon the principality of Antioch. The Knights of St. John hastened to seize the opportunity afforded by the king of Jerusalem marching his forces to the assistance of the threatened city, to flesh their newly consecrated swords, and to win the first laurel of that chaplet which centuries of heroic warfare has since twined for their brows.

The Infidels, who had met with success prior to the king's arrival, and had utterly routed the forces which the regent of Antioch had brought against them, he himself having been slain in the encounter, hastened to meet their new foe, elate with victory and confident of success. Superior, however, as were their numbers, they were no match for the iron-clad warriors who now fell like a thunderbolt upon their ranks. Riven in sunder by the torrent of chivalry which with Raymond at its head poured upon their devoted columns, and unable, at any point, to present a front which was not instantly shattered and overwhelmed, they were at length, after a

gallant resistance and the most desperate efforts on the part of their leaders, forced to yield, and the retreat having speedily been turned into a rout, the slaughter of the flying multitudes became terrific. This victory enabled the king to free the entire Latin territory of its Infidel foe, and he was enabled to return to Jerusalem, to enjoy for a brief period that quiet and repose which the gallantry of his daring army had so nobly earned.

As however, in so exposed a situation, his kingdom was never long doomed to be at rest, we soon find him once again in the field, with Raymond and his brave Hospitallers at his back. On this occasion, Edessa had been the point of attack, the Infidel forces being under the command of Balak, one of the most powerful of the Turkoman chiefs. This general, having succeeded in surprising Jocelyn de Courtenay, Count of Edessa, had routed his forces, and taken him prisoner. In order to rescue his friend, and prevent the further advance of Balak into the Latin territory, Baldwin hastened forward by forced marches, accompanied by the Hospitallers and such other forces as on the spur of the moment he could gather together. Having, however, most imprudently advanced upon a reconnoitring expedition with but a slender escort, he was himself in his turn surprised by the vigilant Balak, and doomed to share the same fate as that of his friend Jocelyn. His army, overwhelmed with confusion at this most untoward occurrence, retreated precipitately, and the majority of them having abandoned their colours, the Hospitallers found themselves almost unsupported. They felt, therefore, that they could no longer withstand the enemy in the open field, and consequently threw themselves into the city of Edessa, with a view to preserving it from the grasp of the victo-

rious Turkomans. In this conjuncture Eustace Garnier, constable of Palestine, although a man far advanced in years, collected a body of seven thousand men, the principal force of his small lordship of Sidon, and, joining to them such of the Hospitallers as had been still left at Jerusalem, he marched upon the foe; and, having completely routed them, rescued both of the illustrious prisoners who had fallen into the hands of Balak.

This victory was followed, at no distant period, by two others, the details of which it is scarcely necessary here to relate; indeed the chronicles of those times are filled with little else than a succession of petty enterprises undertaken by the Latin chiefs, either for the purpose of protecting some point of their exposed frontier from the inroads of their Mahometan foe, or, as was not unfrequently the case, for the purpose of carrying the war into the enemy's country. In all these struggles, the Knights of St. John, under the leadership of the gallant Raymond, bore their full share; and the records of all the historians of those times unite in according to their services the full meed of praise which was their just due. Indeed, but for their powerful assistance, the king of Jerusalem would have found it utterly impossible to have maintained himself against the accumulated pressure which was brought to bear upon him from without; and a bull issued by Pope Innocent II., in the year 1130, speaks in such glowing terms of the opinion in which their services were held by the whole of Europe, that it is little to be wondered at that a body of men, who were rendering themselves so indispensable to the maintenance of Christianity in the East, should receive every privilege and remuneration which it was in the power of grateful Christendom to bestow.

It was about this time that a society somewhat similar to that of St. John sprang into existence. The duties of the Hospitallers, though in many ways attractive to the chivalric temper of the times, partook, still, somewhat too much of the sedate occupations of the monk, to be altogether pleasing to the mind of the youthful warrior. To devote his life to the protection of the holy city, which had been so recently torn from the grasp of the Infidel, and, whilst engaged in that sacred duty, to impose upon himself the obligations of poverty, obedience, and chastity, was the desire of many a young and enthusiastic mind; who, at the same time, did not feel himself disposed to join in the less martial duties of the Hospital, which must have fallen to his lot, had he assumed the white cross of St. John.

Under the influence of these feelings, a body of nine French gentlemen, at the head of whom was Hugh de Payens, joined themselves together in a voluntary association, the object of which was to afford an escort to those numerous bodies of pilgrims who were annually resorting to the shores of Palestine. They were, at first, under no religious restrictions, and had no distinct rules laid down for their guidance, the entire duty being self-imposed and voluntary; and so it continued for several years. The king of Jerusalem gave them, as a residence, a portion of his royal palace adjacent to the temple of Solomon; on which account they became known as the Knights of the Temple, or, as they were afterwards called, Knights-Templars.

Hugh de Payens, having been sent by the king of Jerusalem to solicit assistance in the form of a new Crusade from the Pope, took the opportunity of presenting his companions, and, having explained the objects of

their association, requested his permission to establish a religious and military Order similar to that of the Hospitallers. The Pope referred them to the council of Troyes, then in conclave, who, after having investigated the matter, gave their warmest approval to the project in the year 1128. Fortified with this sanction, Hugh de Payens, before returning to the East, traversed the greater part of Europe in search of candidates to enter his new Order; and, ere long, was enabled to return to Palestine with a body of 300 young and ardent spirits, selected from the flower of European chivalry. These received every assistance from the parent institution of St. John, who, until the receipt of donations had enabled them to support their own establishment, had taken them entirely under their protection. In fact, during those early days, when Hugh de Payens and his eight comrades constituted the whole force of the Order, they had been armed, clothed, fed, and supported from the funds of the Hospital. It was not long, however, before the benefactions of the charitable, and the accession of vast numbers of youthful aspirants to fame, placed them completely on a footing of equality with the sister institution.

In giving his sanction to the Order, the Pope had directed that they should wear a white robe adorned with a red cross, in contradistinction to the Hospitallers, who wore the black robe and white cross. The rival establishments were, consequently, always afterwards known as the white-cross knights and the red-cross knights, respectively. Although they did not undertake any charitable duties similar to those of the Hospitallers, their regulations for the maintenance of their religious vows were, if anything, still more severe. In order to

prevent the possibility of the transgression of the vow of chastity, it was specially ordained in one of the statutes, that they should never presume to kiss even their own mothers; and, as the only safe method of resisting temptation was to avoid it, they were on no account even to look in the face of a fair woman.

At about the same time another Order, which in its original institution was of greater antiquity than even the Hospital of St. John, likewise became military. I allude to the Order of St. Lazarus. It has been, by some writers, asserted that the origin of this association may be dated as far back as the first century, but it would be very difficult to authenticate this statement. The earliest date at which it can, with any certainty, be fixed, is the year 370 A.C., when a large hospital was established in the suburbs of Cesarea, under the auspices of St. Basil, for the reception and nursing of such as were suffering under the disease of leprosy. The laws and customs of the East bearing with the most frightful severity upon all who were afflicted with this hideous and loathsome disorder, who were entirely cut off from all intercourse with their relations and the world, the establishment of this hospital was hailed as a general boon, and the Emperor Valens, as recorded by Theodoret, enriched it with all the lands which he held within that province. Similar establishments soon sprang up in various other places in the East, and they all took St. Lazarus as their tutelary saint; their hospitals, in consequence, received the name of Lazarets. One of these hospitals was in existence at Jerusalem, at the time of its capture by Godfrey de Bouillon. In addition to its charitable organisation, it was also a

religious Order, following the rules of St. Augustin. When, however, the conversion of the Hospitallers into a military fraternity, and the establishment of the Templars upon a similar footing, set the example of combining knightly prowess with religious asceticism, the monks of St. Lazarus, in their turn, donned the coat of mail. For this purpose they divided themselves into two separate bodies; those among them who were afflicted with a disease which cut them off from communication with the rest of the world, amongst whom was the Grand-Master, who, *ex officio*, was required to be a leper, carried on the peaceful duties of the hospital. Such of the Order as were not lepers, and were consequently in a condition to bear arms, joined the ranks of the kings of Palestine in repelling the constant inroads of the Infidels. The precise habit of these Knights has not been recorded, but the cross upon their breast appears to have been green, in contradistinction to the white cross of St. John and the red cross of the Templars.

Whilst these new bulwarks were thus arising round the tottering kingdom of Palestine, the march of events had been producing other changes, by which its fortunes were likewise much affected. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, of whom we have already made mention, had two daughters; the younger of whom, Alice by name, was married to Bohemond, Prince of Antioch; the elder was unmarried. At about this period, Fulk, Count of Anjou, to distract the grief into which he had been plunged at the death of his wife, had undertaken a pilgrimage to the East; and, whilst there, had rendered good knightly assistance to Baldwin in his wars, having maintained a company of a hundred cavaliers at his own expense. The king,

anxious to retain a leader of such wide-spread renown and such personal prowess in his service, offered to him the hand of his eldest daughter, Milicent, in marriage, and promised to nominate him as his successor on the throne of Jerusalem. These terms, being accepted by Fulk, were faithfully adhered to by Baldwin. The marriage was solemnised with due pomp, and at the death of the king, which took place in 1131, accelerated by the undutiful conduct of his daughter Alice, who considered herself injured by the settlement of the kingdom of Jerusalem on her sister's husband, Fulk of Anjou ascended the throne.

Prior to this event, however, Bohemond, the husband of Alice, had been slain in action, leaving as sole heiress a youthful daughter. By the promptitude and decision of Baldwin and Fulk, the rights of this infant were preserved intact, in spite of the machinations of its mother on the one side, and its uncle Roger, duke of Apulia, on the other, both of whom were intriguing for the sovereignty of Antioch. Fulk, however, perceived that it would be necessary, in order to insure the rights of the young princess against the plots thus forming on all sides to her detriment, that she should give her hand to some Christian prince, of power and determination sufficiently well-known to deter the ambitious projects of her malcontent relations. With this view he cast his eyes upon Raymond of Poitiers, youngest son of William, duke of Aquitaine, and then resident at the court of Henry I. of England. As negociator in this delicate mission he selected Joubert, one of the Knights of the Hospital, who, having in these stormy times gained great celebrity both as a warrior and a statesman, was gradually attaining the highest dignities of his Order. Joubert acquitted himself of this mission in a manner

which amply justified this selection. Raymond accepted the hand thus tendered to him with the *empressement* of a true gallant, and hastened to throw himself at the feet of his youthful bride, still a mere child.

Roger of Apulia, to whom the idea of any such alliance was very distasteful, as being subversive of all his hopes of aggrandisement, endeavoured to prevent the gallant suitor from landing in Syria. Raymond, however, with the sage counsel and assistance of Joubert, succeeded in defeating all his machinations, and, under the garb of merchants, they passed unsuspected into the territories of Fulk, where they were received with every demonstration of joy and the marriage solemnised without delay. Thus, by the judicious services of a member of the Order of St. John, the affairs of the principality of Antioch were once more brought into a satisfactory condition, and the danger of a civil embroilment, which at that moment would have been most suicidal to the prospects of Christian domination in the East, was avoided.

At about the same period a service of a somewhat similar nature was undertaken by the Master, du Puy. Alphonso I., king of Aragon and Navarre, had been so impressed with the gallantry and devotion displayed by the Knights of St. John, who, from their European commanderies, were assisting him in his warfare against the Moors, that, in a moment of religious enthusiasm, he nominated the Knights of the Hospital and those of the Temple joint heirs to his kingdom. Not long after this munificent, and, to modern notions, ridiculous bequest had been duly ratified, he met his death in battle against his Moorish foes, in 1133. The grandees of his two kingdoms were, however, by no means disposed to carry into effect the dispositions which their late king

had made of his throne, but taking advantage of the absence of the two Masters in the East, and being at the same time at variance with each other, they hastened to nominate a separate successor for each of the two kingdoms, thus totally ignoring the claims of the military Orders. It was speedily decided by both fraternities, that Raymond, accompanied by some of his Knights and by deputies nominated to act on behalf of the Templars, should at once proceed to Spain, to endeavour, as far as was practicable, to carry into effect the dispositions of the late monarch. The diplomatic skill which Raymond brought to bear upon this occasion met with but a very partial success; more, however, owing to the extreme weakness of his cause, than to any want of ability and determination on his part. From the new king of Navarre he could obtain no redress whatever, that prince having taken the bull by the horns, and boldly ignored the power of Alphonso to make any such disposition of his kingdom. From the king of Aragon he did not receive the same utter denial, that prince having so far recognised the claims of the Order, as to award them in restitution certain manorial rights within his territories, with which compromise Raymond and his brother-deputies were forced to be content, and returned to the Holy Land.

The first blow received by the Christian power in the East, at the hands of the Saracens, was the loss of the city of Edessa, captured by Zenghi, sultan of Mosul and Aleppo, at that time the most powerful of the Eastern princes. The Prince of Edessa, the son of Jocelyn de Courtenay, was a man who, whilst inheriting his father's possessions, was totally devoid of those warlike qualities so necessary to the preservation of his principality, and which had rendered the elder Cour-

tenay so celebrated. Deeply plunged into dissipation of all kinds, and a mere tool in the hands of worthless favourites, he beheld his capital torn from his grasp without an effort for its rescue; and nothing but the death of Zenghi, who was at that critical moment assassinated in his tent, could have saved the rest of his dominions.

As it was, the loss of Edessa had materially shaken the power of the Latins in the East. Most of those gallant spirits who had contributed to the first establishment and subsequent extension of the kingdoms of Palestine were no more, and their successors retained but little in common with them beyond their titles. The only exception to this universal defection was the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin III., who, with the assistance of the two military Orders, was the main support of the tottering Latin kingdom. Baldwin no sooner heard of the assassination of Zenghi, and the check caused by this event to the victorious career of his army, than he conceived the idea of once more regaining possession of the lost city of Edessa. He advanced rapidly, at the head of such troops as he could collect, conspicuous amongst whom rode the iron-clad warriors of the Hospital. They were not, however, fated to be successful in this undertaking; although, when first he appeared before the walls of Edessa, the Christian inhabitants of the town, rising against the Mahometan garrison, opened their gates and admitted his forces. Still his triumph was but of short duration. The Mussulmans retreated into the citadel, within whose protecting bulwarks they withstood all his efforts to dislodge them. Meanwhile Noureddin, one of the sons of Zenghi, a young warrior destined to achieve a

renown rivalling that of his father, advanced rapidly to prevent the accomplishment of Baldwin's enterprise, with an army so vastly superior to that of the king, that the latter had no option left him but to retire with the utmost possible rapidity. The whole Christian population of Edessa accompanied him in his retreat, and it required the most strenuous efforts on his part to prevent Noureddin, who hung upon his flanks, from utterly destroying them. Before they reached Jerusalem a very large number had fallen victims to the ferocious onslaughts of the Moslem foe, and the remainder were indebted for their safety principally to the sleepless vigilance and dauntless bravery of Raymond and his band of warrior monks.* To prevent

* The origin of the legend of our Lady of Liesse, still held in the highest veneration throughout the province of Picardy, dates from this retreat. The story runs, that three Knights of the Hospital, brothers, of a noble family in this province, were cut off from the main body of the army by the Saracens, and made prisoners. Being brought before the sultan at Cairo, he conceived an ardent desire to convert them to Islamism, and for that purpose sent his daughter, a beautiful maiden of eighteen summers, to hold religious discussions with them. The hearts of these true Knights of the Cross were proof against the fascinations of beauty, when employed to inveigle them from their faith. Not so, however, was that of the young damsel. Ismeria, so far from converting her antagonists, became herself convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, and expressed a most earnest desire to behold an image of the Blessed Virgin. Whilst the brothers were despairing how this wish could be accomplished, and were praying to that saint for assistance, they suddenly discovered an image, which had been miraculously introduced into their prison, and which exhaled a most delicious fragrance. Ismeria instantly consented to abandon her faith and adopt the tenets of Christianity, and, carrying the holy image to her chamber, prostrated herself in adoration before it. Whilst in this attitude, she was favoured with a vision from the Virgin herself, who announced to her that she was

the possibility of any further attempts of a like nature on the part of the Christians, Noureddin, as soon as he had regained possession of the city, razed its fortifications and destroyed all its churches. It was thus that Edessa passed for ever from under the Latin sway.

The loss of this important post caused the greatest dismay throughout Palestine. Situated on its extreme Eastern frontier, on the very confines of the desert, it had served as a most valuable outwork by which to keep the Infidel at a distance from the heart of the province, and its principal city, Jerusalem. The greatest possible efforts were, therefore, made to insure its recovery. As the military power of the state itself appeared unequal to cope with Nöureddin's forces without external aid, the patriarch of Palestine and the king of Jerusalem decided on despatching an envoy to Europe for the purpose of soliciting an armed intervention from the Christian powers of the West; and the bishop of Zabulon was selected for this duty.

appointed to release the Knights from prison, and at the same time directed her to change her name, and assume that of Mary. At break of day she proceeded to the prison, determined to obey the divine mandate, and, to her amazement, discovered that the doors were all open. The Knights accompanied her through the streets of Cairo without being discovered; and at length, after a weary day's journey, they lay down together to rest. On awaking, they discovered, to their astonishment, that they were in Picardy, whither they had been transported miraculously during their sleep, Ismeria still retaining possession of her image. Whilst proceeding towards their paternal mansion, the image fell from the hands of its fair bearer; and on this spot a church was afterwards built, dedicated to our Lady of Liesse. Ismeria was baptised, received the name of Mary, and lived ever after with the mother of the Knights, performing all the charitable duties of her new religion; and at her death her remains were deposited within the aisle of the church which she had founded.

Eugene III., who at that time occupied the Papal chair, entered warmly into the project, and directed the holy Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, to preach a new Crusade throughout France and Germany. Bernard, who had attained the highest veneration from the rigid austerity of his life and the reforms which he had succeeded in introducing into the discipline of the clergy, which had become disgracefully lax, was at this time in the most perfect odour of sanctity. He seconded the desires of the Pope with all the strength of his fiery eloquence, and, traversing the land from end to end, he called upon all faithful Christians to come forward at this hour of the Church's need to prevent the Infidel from regaining those holy places which had been torn from their grasp, at the cost of so much blood, by their fathers.

Louis VII., at that time king of France, having in one of his numerous wars committed some barbarities of more than ordinary atrocity, resolved upon purchasing an atonement for his misdeeds by heading the new Crusade, and, as a modern infidel writer has expressed it, "proposed to slaughter some millions of Saracens as an expiation for the murder of four or five hundred Champagnois." The German emperor, Conrad III., was in no such pious mood, and it required the exertion of all Bernard's powers of persuasion ere he could be induced to join the holy enterprise; eventually, however, after the exhibition of certain miraculous powers on the part of the abbot, he consented to lead the Crusaders of his empire against the Turks, and, ere the close of the year 1147, an army of nearly 200,000 men, under the joint guidance of Louis and himself, had passed into the East.

The usual delays, interruptions, and treachery awaited

them at the hands of the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, who, although he was brother-in-law to Conrad, exerted all his powers of dissimulation and deceit, which, in common with the rest of his nation, he possessed in a pre-eminent degree, to accomplish the destruction of these unwelcome visitors. It will be unnecessary to enter into any lengthened detail of this ill-fated expedition. After having lost the greater part of their numbers in the mountain passes between Phrygia and Pisidia, their shattered remnants eventually reached Jerusalem.

It was here decided in council, that greater advantage would accrue to the Christian power in the East if the town of Damascus could be brought under its domination, than could be gained even by the recapture of Edessa. The attempt was accordingly decided on, and, eager to wrest from the hands of the Saracens a city which for nearly five centuries had groaned under their yoke, the Christian forces soon arrived in front of the devoted city. A strong body of the Knights of St. John, as also of the Templars, accompanied this expedition, and, ranging themselves beneath the banner of Baldwin, nobly maintained their well-earned reputation for valour and martial discipline. After having nearly succeeded in achieving the capture of the city, all the advantages which had been gained by the valour of the Hospitallers were lost by the treachery and jealousies of some of the other leaders, who, instead of following up and pushing to the utmost the success which had attended the efforts of Baldwin and the military friars, commenced to cabal as to the division of that spoil which was destined never to fall within their grasp.

Noureddin having succeeded in throwing a reinforce-

ment into the city, the opportunity for successfully attempting its capture was lost; they were compelled therefore to raise the siege, and to return to Jerusalem. Conrad and Louis shortly afterwards both left the Holy Land, and thus in the year 1149 was this ill-fated expedition brought to a close, in which the lives of 150,000 men had been sacrificed without the slightest benefit to the Christian cause.

Noureddin, relieved from the fears which the advent of so large a force had necessarily excited, no sooner discovered that he had nothing further to dread from the efforts of the Latins against his own territories, than he once again carried the war into the enemy's country, and in the year 1152 Baldwin found himself under the necessity of advancing towards the principality of Antioch, for the protection of his frontier. During his absence from the seat of his government, two Turkish princes, bearing the name of the Jarroquins, penetrated by way of Damascus towards Jerusalem, and actually arrived in presence of the holy city, which at that moment was in an utterly defenceless condition, all the disposable forces of the kingdom having accompanied Baldwin in his march towards Antioch. The Turks pitched their camp for the night on the Mount of Olives, intending to force an entry into the city upon the following morning; in which operation, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, they anticipated little or no difficulty.

A few Knights of the Hospital had been left behind by their brethren, for the purpose of conducting the ordinary duties of the institution during their absence; and it was to the promptitude and determination with which these gallant soldiers acted upon the occasion,

that the holy city was indebted for its rescue from destruction. Gathering together such of the citizens as were capable of bearing arms, they made a sortie under cover of the night, penetrated into the enemy's camp, which they succeeded in setting on fire, and in the confusion which ensued completely overwhelmed the bewildered Turks, putting vast numbers to the sword, and compelling the remainder to take to flight. Baldwin, who had received intimation of the incursion by which his capital was being threatened, was at that moment hastening back to its rescue; and falling suddenly upon the fugitives, in the midst of their disorderly flight, he completed their overthrow, cutting them in pieces, and pursuing them with such vigour, that those who escaped the swords of his followers perished miserably in the waters of the Jordan. This gallant action, by which the capital city of the kingdom of Palestine was preserved from destruction by the daring and decision of a handful of the Knights of St. John, added yet another title in virtue of which the Order might claim the gratitude of Christendom.

Baldwin, encouraged by this great and most unlooked-for success, occurring as it did at a moment when the numerous reverses which the Christian cause in Palestine had sustained were having a most dispiriting effect upon his followers, determined instantly to take advantage of the panic, which his triumph had created amongst the Infidels, to carry the war into their territories. For this purpose he turned his eyes towards the Saracen fortress of Ascalon. This city, which was the key of Palestine towards the south, had been the cause of endless anxiety to every successive Latin king, on account of its close proximity to the fron-

tier of their territories. In order in some degree to counterbalance this evil, and to keep in check the constant inroads of its inhabitants, Milicent, Baldwin's mother, had some years previously, during the temporary absence of her husband Fulk, rebuilt the fortifications of the town of Beersheba, which, whilst it was within the boundaries of the Christian territory, was at no great distance from Ascalon. The garrisoning of this place had been by her intrusted to the Order of St. John; a post of more danger than profit, but which had nevertheless been accepted by Raymond with the most gallant promptitude; and had been ever since retained by the Order, throughout all the changes of the period; acting as a point of assembly, and a place of refuge to the Christians of the district, whenever menaced by the Infidel. For the same reason, Baldwin III. had caused the fortifications of the ancient Philistine city of Gaza to be restored; and, as it was within twenty miles of Ascalon, and consequently a post of much importance, he intrusted its preservation to the care of the Knights of the Temple, between whom and the Hospitallers there existed a noble, generous, and friendly rivalry; but as yet no symptom of that discord and jealousy which were afterwards fraught with such pernicious consequences, not only to themselves, but also to the whole Christian power in Palestine.

Ascalon, considered by the Turks as one of their most important fortresses, was situated on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, very much in the same latitude as Jerusalem. Its fortifications, consisting of a high rampart, supported at short distances by lofty towers, formed a semicircle, which enclosed the town; the sea coast being its other boundary. It had always

been guarded most zealously by its possessors; and, in order to insure its preservation, the caliph had caused all its male inhabitants to be thoroughly trained in the exercises of war; and, that there might be no danger of treachery on their part, or a want of fidelity to his service, he had granted them numerous privileges and indulgences, such as were not enjoyed by the inhabitants of any other city in the East. Baldwin, however, undeterred either by the strength of the place, or by the number, discipline, and determination of the garrison, which may be said to have comprised the entire male population, sat down before its walls, with an army increased beyond its usual force by the accession of a large body of pilgrims from Europe, and most ample reinforcements from the military Orders.

Meanwhile Gerard, the lord of Sidon, with fifteen small galleys, held possession of the sea, and intercepted all passage of supplies into the beleaguered city. For a period of five months the siege was carried on with the utmost vigour, the Christians, harassed by constant sorties on the part of the garrison, gained ground step by step, at the cost of a constant struggle, and the most fearful expenditure of life; not a foot of ground being yielded by the Saracens without a desperate resistance. At length, however, after having overcome all the obstacles which the ingenuity of their defenders had cast in their way, they reached to the foot of the rampart. At this moment, when victory seemed within their grasp, and it appeared as if they were about to reap the harvest of all their desires, a powerful fleet, laden with reinforcements and provisions, hove in sight. This fleet was so far more numerous than that with which Gerard was blockading the entrance to the port, that he was

compelled to retire with the greatest possible haste, and to leave the sovereignty of the seas in their undisputed possession. This sudden and unlooked-for check caused the utmost dismay throughout the Christian camp. A general council of war was at once convened, in which the propriety of an immediate abandonment of the siege was advocated by the majority of those present. Raymond, however, the Master of the Hospitallers, supported by the patriarch of Jerusalem and some of the other clergy, strenuously opposed this pusillanimous counsel. He urged strongly upon the king the necessity of prosecuting the siege; assuring him that a retreat would have the effect of damping the courage of his own army, and proportionably raising that of the Infidels, who would in their turn assume the offensive, and in all probability advance to besiege Jerusalem. The king, who himself fully sympathised with the ardour of Raymond, decided upon continuing the siege, and the bold language with which this counsel had been urged served to stimulate the valour of those who had previously been the most ready to advocate an immediate retreat. The Templars constructed a lofty movable tower, a practice very common in the sieges of those times, which they advanced on wheels to within a short distance of the walls of the town, and from the top of which a drawbridge could be lowered at will on to the ramparts, so as to span the intervening space. In the course of the night, the Turks threw down a quantity of dry wood and other combustible material, which they ignited, trusting by this means to consume the tower. A strong east wind having, however, set in, the flames arising from the conflagration they had created were blown away from the direction of the Templars' tower,

against the walls of the town, and these were so much calcined and destroyed by the action of the fire, that before morning a large portion had crumbled away, leaving a practicable breach into the heart of the town. What was the surprise of the Templars, to whom that portion of the attack had been confided, to find, upon the dawning of the next day, that instead of their tower being reduced to ashes, as they had fully anticipated, an entry into the town was thus unexpectedly opened to their advance.

Their Grand-Master, after having carefully reconnoitred the breach and found its ascent perfectly practicable, directed a body of his Knights to attempt the assault. These no sooner made their appearance within the walls of the city, than the garrison, conceiving that all was lost, fled with precipitation. Meanwhile the Templars advanced with the most daring *sang froid* into the very heart of the town, and had they been at this time properly supported, its immediate capture must have been insured: but, unfortunately, the avaricious and grasping disposition of their Grand-Master ruined the enterprise. Instead of demanding succour from the troops in his vicinity, he actually mounted the breach with the remainder of his Knights, and there kept guard to prevent any other troops than those of his own Order from entering the town, trusting by these means to secure the entire pillage of the place for their exclusive benefit. The result was such as might have easily been foreseen. The garrison, having recovered from the consternation and panic into which they had been thrown on the first appearance of the Christians, were not long in discovering the smallness of their foe, and, returning boldly to the attack, drove them back with fearful slaughter, to

the point from whence they had succeeded in penetrating into the town, and hurled their whole force from the breach, which they instantly secured from further attack by means of a retrenchment and numerous barricades.

The wrath of Baldwin and the remainder of the army at the loss of so signal an advantage, owing to the avarice of the Templars, may readily be conceived; nor indeed was this the first instance in which that Order had, even at this early date, commenced to evince a grasping spirit of acquisition and a greed of wealth, which, ere long, was destined to draw down upon them the antagonism, and eventually the revenge, of Europe. On this, as on many other occasions, their conduct formed so marked a contrast with that of the Hospitallers, that comparisons by no means favourable to them were drawn, and it was prompted by such feelings as these, that the potentates who had compassed the annihilation of the Order of the Temple were induced to transfer their wealth and manorial acquisitions to the Hospital of St. John.

The garrison of Ascalon was so elated at the success with which this formidable attack had been repelled, and found themselves so strengthened in numbers by the reinforcements just landed from their fleet, that they sallied forth the following morning, trusting by one great victory to compel their foes to raise the siege. The action lasted with varied success throughout the whole day. Baldwin withstood their attack with the utmost firmness, and the Templars, anxious to wash away in Saracen blood the stain which their previous misconduct had fixed upon the Order, threw themselves with the most reckless impetuosity upon

their Moslem foe. After numerous alternations of fortune the Infidels at length began to yield, and, being vigorously pressed by the Hospitallers, their retreat was speedily converted into a flight. The battle now became a simple butchery, and a very large proportion of the garrison fell by the edge of the sword before their shattered relics could regain the shelter of their walls.

Dismayed at the unexpected issue of this sanguinary contest, the Infidels, on the following day, offered to capitulate on the condition that their lives and property should be respected, which terms having been accepted, the town was at once yielded to the Christians, and its inhabitants transported to Laris, a town on the borders of the desert, on the 12th of August, 1154.

This conquest had a most beneficial effect on the position of the Latin kingdom of Palestine. In lieu of the constant alarms and incursions from which they had previously so frequently suffered at the hands of the Turkish inhabitants of Ascalon, their frontier, now that the town had fallen into the possession of the Christians, became comparatively secure; and its new holders, supported by the garrisons of Gaza and Beersheba, were enabled to drive back their Infidel foe into the heart of Egypt. The greatest joy was expressed throughout Europe at this timely and welcome acquisition, the glory of which was, in a great measure, due to the warriors of the Hospital and their chief, Raymond, who, when all else were proposing to abandon the siege in despair, had succeeded, by his eloquent and heart-stirring appeals, in inducing them to persevere to the end. Pope Anastasius IV. felt their claims on this occasion to be so strong, that

he issued a new bull, confirming and extending the privileges of the Order already conceded by his predecessors.

The publication of this bull created the utmost jealousy amongst the regular clergy of Palestine, who could not brook the exemption thus conceded to the Order of St. John from all external ecclesiastical supervision. Numerous complaints of the arrogance and malpractices of the fraternity, some few of which were doubtless founded in truth, but the vast majority simply jealous fabrications, were forwarded by the clergy, with the patriarch of Jerusalem at their head, to the Papal chair. Amongst these grievances were specified, that the elevation and magnificence of the Church and Hospital of St. John exceeded that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, close to which they had been built; and also that the bells of the Hospital were rung with violence, whenever service was performing in the before-mentioned church, to its annoyance and interruption. Many other complaints were at the same time made, but they were mostly of the same tenor, and framed in a similar spirit. The Pope decided against the appellants, and confirmed the privileges of the Order, thus stigmatising as vexatious the opposition which had been raised against them. This was the first occasion upon which the Hospitallers had fallen into any dissension with the regular clergy; but, disputes having once arisen, they soon became of constant occurrence, and the historian of the times has to wade through long and wordy dissertations on both sides, which clearly demonstrate that, where ill feeling exists, the commonest events may be wrested so as to bear a malicious and invidious interpretation.

Amongst the most venomous and bitter of the ecclesiastical writers of that period stands William, archbishop of Tyre, who was himself an eyewitness of most of the events which he records; and the distorted and garbled account he renders of the whole dispute, and the rancorous abuse he lavishes on the Pope, whose decision he does not hesitate to stigmatise as having been influenced by bribery, show but too plainly the animus with which he and the other clerical historians of the age were imbued. These disputes embittered the last days of Raymond du Puy, who, having himself established the military Order of which he was the head, had lived to see it settled upon a permanent basis, honoured and revered in every corner of Europe, wealthy and powerful from the innumerable benefactions and endowments it had received, and increasing annually in the number of those who sought fame in this world, and salvation in the next, beneath its consecrated banners. There was, at this time, scarcely a noble house in Europe of which some scion did not bear the white cross upon his breast; and the name of a Hospitaller of St. John had, during these eventful years, become the synonyme for every chivalric and martial virtue.

At length, in the year 1160, Raymond, having attained the patriarchal age of eighty years, during sixty of which he had lived a life of constant warfare, not one of which elapsed without bringing with it the necessity for unsheathing the sword, breathed his last in the Hospital of St. John, at Jerusalem, whither he had retired to meet, in quiet and repose, that end which he had so often braved at the hand of the Infidel. History has recorded nothing of his character which would

not become a saint. Even William of Tyre, though far from being a favourable witness to the good qualities of the Hospitallers, speaks in the most glowing terms of Raymond, whose virtues appear to have been so pre-eminent, that even his enemies were compelled to bear a reluctant testimony to their effulgence. A true type of the soldier, the gentleman, and the Christian, he lived to see his every desire accomplished, and the Order in which all his ambition and all his hopes were centred take its place amidst the chivalry of Europe, upon the highest pinnacle reared by the hands of fame.

CHAP. IV.

EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT. — DEATH OF D'ASCALI. — RISE OF SALADIN. — MELIER, THE APOSTATE TEMPLAR. — MURDER OF THE ASSASSIN AMBASSADOR BY DU MESNIL. — DEATH OF BALDWIN III. AND ACCESSION OF BALDWIN IV. THE LEPER. — DEATH OF JOUBERT. — DISSENSIONS IN THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM. — ACCESSION OF GUY DE LUSIGNAN. — BATTLE OF TIBERIAS. — LOSS OF JERUSALEM. — ITS MAIN CAUSES.

THE rule of the two Masters who succeeded Raymond du Puy in the governance of the Order of the Hospital was neither of long duration, nor distinguished by events of such marked importance as to require much detail in these pages.

During the brief administration of Auger de Balben, his immediate successor, the king, Baldwin III., was gathered to his fathers, universally regretted by his subjects, who could ill spare the guidance of his commanding genius. His dauntless bravery and prompt decision in action, during a reign of twenty years, had been such as to elicit the most unqualified admiration, not only from his friends and countrymen, but also from those amongst the Infidels who had had most cause to feel the power and vigour of his rule. He was succeeded on the throne of Jerusalem by his brother Almeric; and this prince was indebted for his peaceful accession to the good offices of Auger, his claims having

been the subject of the most violent and fierce disputes amongst the nobles of the kingdom.

During the government of Arnaud de Comps, a member of a noble family in Dauphiné, who succeeded Auger in 1162, an expedition into Egypt was undertaken by Almeric, accompanied by the Hospitallers and Templars, his assistance having been demanded by the caliph of Egypt, to oppose an invasion of that country, which had been commenced by the Turkoman leader Noureddin. In return for this assistance, Almeric succeeded in extorting an annual tribute from the caliph. This being the only result of the undertaking, the expedition could scarcely be designated as one of importance; but there were two events connected with it which render it worthy of record. It was in this war that the renowned Saladin, whose name afterwards became so terrible to the Christian cause, first fleshed his maiden scimitar, and showed the earliest gleams of that martial spirit which afterwards shone with such dazzling lustre. It is recorded by many historians, though the circumstance requires confirmation, that at the close of the siege of Alexandria, which was brought to a termination by the declaration of peace, Saladin, who had conducted the defence of the place with the greatest skill, and the most intrepid courage, demanded of the besiegers to receive the accolade of knighthood, which request, notwithstanding his religion, was complied with, as a mark of their appreciation of the gallantry of his bearing. The other event to which allusion has been made was the punishment of twelve Knights of the Temple for cowardice, they having yielded the Cave, or Grotto, of Tyre, without sufficient resistance to the Infidels. For this offence

the king caused them to be hanged; an event which threw so great a slur upon the reputation of the Order that it has been studiously concealed by its panegyrists.

Arnaud de Comps died in 1168; and the unfortunate Gilbert d'Ascali was appointed to the vacant office. He had no sooner assumed the reins of government than Almeric suggested the propriety of a second expedition into Egypt. He had been so struck with the vast wealth, and numerous other attractions of the country, during his former incursion, that his ambition and his avarice both prompted him to desire its acquisition. In this project he was warmly seconded by the Greek emperor of Constantinople, who was naturally desirous of seeing as effectual a barrier as possible erected between his frontier and the Infidels who surrounded him. For this purpose he contributed a considerable sum of money towards the equipment of the expedition proposed by Almeric.

The propriety of tendering their assistance to the king in this enterprise was warmly debated amongst the Hospitallers in council. As the caliph of Egypt had so lately entered into a treaty of peace with the Christians, by which he had bound himself to the payment of an annual tribute; and, as this treaty had been scrupulously observed on his part, it was argued by some of the more conscientious of their number, that they were not justified in waging war against him. The Master, however, strenuously supported the undertaking, and his detractors assert that his object in so doing was to endeavour to replenish from the spoils of Egypt the coffers of his treasury, which he had dissipated from wanton extravagance. The majority of the council, influenced by his precept and example, and tempted by the pros-

pect of an easy conquest yielding an enormous booty, since the Egyptians were far more wealthy than martial, decided in favour of war, and authorised Gilbert to raise money in their name, by loans from the bankers of Genoa and Venice. With this assistance the Hospitallers took into their pay a large auxiliary force of mercenaries, and prepared to enter the field, with a far more powerful array than they had on any previous occasion been enabled to muster.

The Templars, when called upon by Almeric to join his ranks refused the request, after a lengthened discussion; alleging as a reason that they did not consider it lawful to engage in warfare against a nation which, although Infidel, had entered into a treaty of peace with the Christians. Against the justice of this reasoning there can be no argument; but it is much to be regretted that that Order, which could thus upon occasion be so scrupulous, was not more in the practice of weighing the precise rectitude of their actions prior to execution; and there are not wanting ill-natured historians, who have placed on record, that the real motive of this seeming generosity on their part arose from a sense of jealousy, under the feeling that they could not take the field with so imposing a force as that which was serving under the white-cross banner of Gilbert d'Ascali.

Almeric was in no wise daunted at this secession on the part of the Templars, and, with his brave Hospitallers in his train, led the way into Egypt. Their first operation after entering the enemies' country was the siege of Belbeis, which, although fortified and defended by a very numerous garrison, Almeric decided upon carrying by assault, instead of the more ordinary

but lengthy process of a regular siege; involving, as it generally did in those days, a tedious blockade. After the most prodigious slaughter on both sides, for the defence was conducted with determined and intrepid obstinacy, the Christians succeeded in forcing their way into the town; and it is with shame that the historian is compelled to relate, that in the savage cruelty of their excesses, on this occasion, they even surpassed the worst atrocities of the Infidel foe against whom they were combating.

In this town Almeric captured the son and the nephew of the caliph, in addition to a number of other prisoners of wealth and renown. It had formed one of the terms in the agreement entered into between Almeric and D'Ascali, that upon the capture of Belbeis it should become the property of the Knights of St. John; and the king, true to his word, lost no time in handing them over possession of this most important acquisition. D'Ascali left a numerous garrison, composed of the followers of the Order, within its walls; he himself, with the main body of his forces, accompanying the king in the further prosecution of his enterprise.

Their next point of attack was Cairo, then as now the principal city of Egypt. Whilst undertaking the siege of this place, Almeric received an embassy from the caliph, suing for peace, and offering the most tempting bait, in the shape of an enormous ransom for his son and nephew, who were prisoners in the hands of the king. Almeric, whose besetting vice was avarice, was not proof against the two millons of gold crowns which the ambassadors of the caliph were instructed to proffer; and having received 100,000 crowns as a first instalment,

he consented to an armistice being established, whilst the caliph should be collecting the remainder of the ransom from the various parts of his dominions. This, however, he had no intention whatever of doing; but, whilst deluding Almeric by the prospect of so rich a booty, he had secretly sent envoys to his former foe Noureddin, imploring assistance against the torrent of Christian invasion, by which he was threatened with destruction. This assistance Noureddin, for purposes of his own, readily consented to render, and prepared at once to send a powerful army to the rescue.

Meanwhile, the arrangements for the treaty with Almeric were slowly progressing, and he was cajoled into a continuance of his supine inactivity, by the belief that the caliph was busily engaged in fulfilling its terms. The artifice was completely successful. Almeric remained resting on his arms before Cairo, until at length he was startled at hearing that the army of Noureddin was rapidly approaching to the rescue. He lost no time in marching against them with all his forces; trusting to be enabled to encounter them before they had effected a junction with the Egyptians. Siracon, however, Noureddin's general, having made a detour, succeeded in passing the Christian army, and joined his forces to those of the caliph in their rear. Under these adverse circumstances, the king felt that all prospect of a conquest of Egypt was at an end; and that it would not be safe to remain longer in the country, in the face of such superior forces as those which Siracon had brought into the field. He therefore made good his retreat into Palestine as rapidly as possible, and the Hospitallers were compelled to evacuate Belbeis, the garrison of which joined the king's army as he passed.

Thus ended this ill-fated expedition; the success of which was blasted purely by the avarice of Almeric. That it was unprovoked in the outset, and consequently unjustifiable, cannot be denied; and that, founded as it was upon a breach of faith, it deserved no better fate, is likewise true; still, had it been successful, it would doubtless have tended much to prolong the duration of Christian rule in the East, and would have struck a blow at Infidel domination which they would have taken long to recover. As it was, however, the Christians gained nothing but obloquy in return for their vast expenditure of treasure; and, as the sequel will show, brought down upon themselves a foe who eventually succeeded in completely wrecking the power of the Latin kingdom of Palestine.

The friends of Almeric, for in spite of his errors he had many who were warmly attached to his person and fortunes, were not loth to screen his misconduct by throwing the entire blame on Gilbert d'Ascali. This unfortunate Knight appears, throughout the transaction, to have been more sinned against than sinning. He had been induced by the arguments of the king, aided doubtless by the ambitious promptings of his own heart, to join in the conquest of Egypt. That the attempt would be successful, appeared in the outset most probable; and that, when achieved, it would prove a strong bulwark of defence to the feeble kingdom, was also most indubitable. With this view, and by no means foreseeing that the avarice of the king would shipwreck the entire project, he had entered into it with all his energies, and had pledged the credit of his Order to the utmost limits to insure its successful prosecution. It is, however, very difficult to argue in the face of a failure; and Gilbert, on

his return to Jerusalem, found himself assailed on every side, by the most bitter invectives, and the most virulent antagonism. His proud spirit sank under the abuse which, whether merited or not, was lavished upon him with unsparing rigour, and he resigned the Mastership of his Order in despair. He shortly after left the Holy Land, and returned to Europe, to hide his griefs in retirement and solitude; and, whilst there, he was drowned in the act of crossing from France to England. From this fact Vertot has endeavoured to prove that he must have been a native of the latter country; and this surmise on his part receives a certain amount of sanction, from the fact that his name is of Norman origin, and would therefore very probably have belonged to an English knight of that period.

On his resignation, a brother named Gastus was raised to the dignity of Master, but his rule was short; and, to use the stereotyped expression of the writers of those times, he has left no other record of himself but his name.

Joubert, the sixth Master of the Order, was elected at the death of Gastus in 1169. Prior to his accession to the office, great changes had been taking place in the countries which surrounded the kingdom of Judea. As has been already shown, Noureddin, at the request of the caliph of Egypt, had sent to his assistance an army commanded by his general Siracon. Saladin, whose name has likewise been mentioned, was nephew to Siracon, and accompanied him into Egypt. It had formed no part of Noureddin's plans to assist the caliph of Egypt in expelling the Christians from his dominions without the prospect of some ulterior benefit to himself; and he had given private instructions to Siracon, in

despatching him thither, that he was to take advantage of any opportunities which might offer, to seize upon the government of the country. These instructions were faithfully carried out; but Siracon did not live to enjoy the fruits of his exertions, for he had only just established himself in power when death brought all his wiles and ambitious projects to a close. His nephew Saladin, however, carrying out the operations commenced by his uncle, succeeded in bringing them to a favourable termination, and having made away with the caliph of Egypt, whom he caused to be strangled in his bath, assumed the rule of the country. Noureddin having also about this time died, Saladin married his widow, and, throwing off his allegiance to the son of his late master, established himself not only as an independent sovereign of Egypt, but also as ruler over all those territories formerly governed by Noureddin.

His power had become so threatening to the Christians, that Almeric had good cause to rue the ambition which had called so potent an enemy into the field, and the avarice which had prevented his being enabled to crush him in the outset. In order to check his successful career, Almeric proceeded to Constantinople, to seek assistance from the Greek emperor, he having already failed in his endeavours to obtain the aid of a new Crusade, his proposals for which had been but coldly received by the powers of Western Europe. During his absence from Jerusalem, he vested the government of his kingdom in the hands of Joubert the Master of the Hospital, and his fellow-dignitary the Grand-Master of the Temple. He was received by the emperor with the most flattering promises of assistance, which, however, were but very partiallly realised; and,

compelled to be content with the assurances he had extorted, he returned to his government, where his presence was most urgently required to meet a new foe, who had sprung from the midst of his own kingdom, and was no other than an apostate Templar.

This recreant knight, whose name was Melier, was brother to Thoro, prince of Armenia; a potentate who had always continued firm in his alliance with the Christian rulers of Palestine. At the death of Thoro, the crown had descended to his nephew Thomas, son of his only sister. Melier, however, prompted by his ambition to usurp a throne, abandoned the habit of his Order, renounced Christianity, and, allying himself with Saladin, drove Thomas from his territories, and installed himself as Prince of Armenia. From this moment he waged an unceasing warfare with his Christian neighbours, and his cruelties and atrocities surpassed even those of his Mahometan allies. Towards the Hospitallers and Templars he exhibited the most peculiar and savage rancour; such of either Order as fell into his hands being butchered in cold blood, or else sold into slavery in the territories of Saladin.

Almeric, however, was not the prince to suffer this thorn to remain in the side of his kingdom; and the Hospitallers and Templars vied with each other in their anxiety to revenge themselves upon this unworthy member of a military Order, for the cruel death of so many of their brethren. Melier soon found himself unequal to cope with the forces brought against him, and was ignominiously driven from the territories he had so basely usurped, to seek a refuge under the protection of his ally Saladin. This blot on the fair fame of the Templars could not justly be laid to the blame of the Order;

since, until human nature shall realise a far higher pitch of perfection than it has ever yet been enabled to attain, there will always be found individual backsliders, even in the midst of the most virtuous communities. It must not be forgotten, that, even amongst the twelve disciples of our blessed Lord, one traitor found admission; nor did his foul treason cast the shadow of a stain upon his eleven brethren, who afterwards sealed their faith with their blood. It happened, however, unfortunately for the Order, that this was not the only event which occurred at that particular period calculated to bring their institution into disrepute, since at the same time another offender arose in their ranks, who, far from being disavowed by his fraternity, was by them screened from the punishment due to his crimes, to the utmost extent of their power.

In the mountainous country contiguous to Tripoli dwelt a numerous and fanatical tribe named Assassins*,

* The name of Assassin was derived from the Persian word *hassassin*, signifying a dagger, which was the only weapon usually worn by the members of this extraordinary tribe. The peculiar and unenviable notoriety which these fanatics obtained, has caused the name to be since generally adopted to designate a murderer. In proof of the extraordinary lengths to which their devotion and blind obedience to their chiefs was carried, a very characteristic anecdote is recorded, which, in its startling horror, appears scarcely credible to modern readers. It is said that, upon one occasion, the Sultan of Damascus despatched an envoy to the Old Man of the Mountain, demanding the payment of an annual tribute, under threat of an immediate invasion. The prince of the Assassins, desirous of exhibiting to the envoy the extent of his power over his subjects, in his presence, ordered one of the tribe to cast himself from the top of the tower, and at the same time directed another to plunge a dagger into his heart. The command was in both cases instantly obeyed. The prince, turning to the envoy, then informed him that he had sixty thousand subjects, every

whose chief was known as the Old Man of the Mountain. Their name was mentioned with terror throughout the East, owing to the peculiarities of their tenets. Their religion, if religion it can be called, consisted in a blind obedience to the will of their chief, even when it led to certain death. Assassination was held amongst them to be a cardinal virtue, more especially when performed by his directions. The monarch on his throne, in the midst of his court, and surrounded by the most faithful guard, was not secure from the dagger of one of these Assassins, who was sure never to fail in the attainment of his object, even though it involved the sacrifice of his own life. The dread in which this tribe was held prompted all the Mahometan leaders of the East to cultivate friendly relations with them; and they were in the receipt of subsidies, in the form of tribute, from nations far more powerful in point of numbers than themselves.

The Templars, however, of the province of Tripoli, fearlessly waged war against them, heedless of the ready dagger with which they were wont to defend their privileges. They, on their side, were not slow in perceiving, that, in an institution organised like the military Orders, the death of the chief had no effect in changing the spirit of the government; a successor was at once named, by whom the objects which his predecessor had commenced were pertinaciously carried out. Their favourite mode of defence being thus comparatively useless, they felt unequal to cope with the disciplined

one of whom would perform his behest with the same blind obedience as that of the two men whose fate he had just witnessed. The old historians quaintly enough add, that the Old Man of the Mountain never heard anything more of the sultan's demand for tribute.

energy and martial ardour of the Templars; and, eventually, were glad to purchase a peace by the payment of an annual contribution to the coffers of the Order. About this time, however, the prince of the Assassins, anxious to evade the payment of this impost, and not over nice as to the form of religion which he professed, sent an ambassador to the king of Jerusalem, with an offer, on the part of himself and all his tribe, to be baptised into Christianity. Almeric was overjoyed at this proposition, which promised to form a most welcome addition to the Christian population of the East; and the ambassador was dismissed on his homeward journey laden with presents, and accompanied by a guard from the king, after having received his pledge that the payment of the tribute should cease to be enforced.

This undertaking on the part of the king was very distasteful to the body of the Templars, whose grasping avarice led them infinitely to prefer the payment of tribute from an Infidel nation, rather than their conversion to the Christian faith, in a case when the latter alternative involved the loss of the said payment. They, therefore, decided upon using every means within their power to break off the negotiation and prevent its being brought to a successful termination. In furtherance of this project, one of their number, named Du Mesnil, whether with the knowledge and consent of his brethren has never been clearly established, waylaid the ambassador, and as soon as he had parted from the guard furnished for his protection by Almeric, on the borders of Tripoli, fell upon him and murdered him in cold blood.

Almeric was, with justice, deeply irritated at this foul breach of national faith, perpetrated on the person of an ambassador who was under the protection of his own safe-conduct; and demanded that Du Mesnil should be

instantly handed over by the Templars to be dealt with as his crime deserved. This the Order positively refused to do; thus identifying themselves with the crime which had been committed, and lending the sanction of their name to cover as atrocious and cold-blooded a murder as any it was possible to conceive. Almeric was not, however, to be stopped in his purposes of retribution by any interference on the part of the Templars, whose numerous acts of misconduct and outrage were rapidly bringing them into extreme disrepute, but seizing upon Du Mesnil by force he threw him into prison, and would doubtless have wreaked a bitter vengeance upon him, had not his own career been cut short by death, leaving a youthful son to succeed him on the throne.

Baldwin IV., surnamed the leper, owing to the loathsome disease with which he was afflicted, was incapacitated, both mentally and bodily, from swaying with energy a sceptre requiring such constant exercise of vigilance, determination, and bravery, as did that of Jerusalem. During his brief reign, however, in those intervals when a temporary relaxation of his disease enabled him to take the field in person, he several times endeavoured to check the ravages which were being committed by Saladin on his frontier provinces; and on one occasion he succeeded in surprising that renowned chieftain, and, falling upon his camp at night, routed his army so completely, that Saladin himself had a narrow escape of falling into his hands.

In the following year, viz. 1175, Baldwin endeavoured to establish a frontier fortress on the banks of the Jordan, within the limits of Saladin's dominion. To prevent the accomplishment of any such attempt, that prince once more advanced to oppose the Christian forces; and having by his superior strategical skill lured them into

an ambuscade, he fell upon them with all his forces whilst entangled in a defile, and a complete rout of the whole army was the result. In this disastrous affair the Hospitallers were nearly cut to pieces, their Master, Joubert, covered with wounds, having narrowly escaped with life, by swimming his horse across the Jordan.

His end, which occurred in 1179, has been differently recorded; some writers attribute it to grief at the truce which was in that year signed between Saladin and the Christians, and at the decadence of the unfortunate kingdom of Palestine, which, year by year, was shorn of some one of its remaining bulwarks. The greater number, however, assert that he came by his death in an unfair manner. Having fallen into the hands of one of Saladin's generals, at the capture of Margat, the defence of which place had been conducted by him and the Knights of his Order with the most determined obstinacy, he was barbarously starved to death in prison.

The council of the Order, on his decease, filled the vacancy by the election of Roger Desmoulins to the post of the seventh Master. On his accession he found the Christian territory not only threatened by the powerful foe on her frontier, but at the same time torn and divided by intestine discord. It was true that a truce had been concluded with Saladin, but there appeared no prospect of its continuing for any length of time, and the Christians felt that after its close they would be quite unequal to cope with his aggressive ambition. They decided therefore upon sending ambassadors to Europe to solicit the assistance of a third Crusade, and for this purpose they selected Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the two chiefs of the Temple and Hospital.

Shortly after their arrival in Europe, the Grand-Master of the Temple died, leaving Heraclius and Desmoulins to perform the remainder of their embassy alone. For this purpose they in turn visited the courts of Pope Lucius III., of Philip II. of France, and of Henry II. of England; from all of whom they received a superabundance of promises, but very scanty aid in any more material form. At the court of Henry II., indeed, the patriarch Heraclius so far forgot the respect due to the monarch, that he had the audacity to upbraid the king in the most insolent terms for his lukewarmness in the good cause; to which injudicious act on his part the failure of their efforts in England may mainly be attributed. It is true, that, throughout both the kingdoms of England and France, a Crusade was preached, accompanied by the grant of indulgences from the Pope, but it met with so little earnest support from the monarchs of those countries, that it proved decidedly futile, and the disappointed ambassadors returned to the East in despair.

Here they found that the disease with which Baldwin was afflicted had so far gained the mastery over his enfeebled frame, as to render him incapable of the most ordinary functions of government. Under these circumstances he had associated with himself, in the rule of the kingdom, a French cavalier named Guy de Lusignan, who had married his sister Sabilla, the widow of the Marquis of Montferrat. This choice, however, was very unpalatable to his nobles, who with justice despised Guy, as a man more suited to shine in the court than in the camp; and Baldwin found himself compelled to retract the authority he had vested in him. In this dilemma he formed the resolution of resigning his crown altogether; and, in execution of his design, nominated his

nephew, Sabilla's son by her first lord, as his successor; and appointed Raymond, Count of Tripoli, to act as regent during his minority.

Not long after this change Baldwin died, and the regent continued to maintain his sway until an event occurred which overthrew all his hopes and projects. The infant son of Sabilla died suddenly, not without grave suspicions of foul play on the part of his mother; suspicions which subsequent events tended materially to strengthen. The fact of his death was retained a secret within the palace where it had occurred for several days, whilst Sabilla and her husband were engaged in buying over to their interests the patriarch of Jerusalem and the Grand-Master of the Templars. They at the same time made the most flattering overtures to Roger Desmoulins, in whose charge, coupled with the Grand-Master of the Temple, the regalia of the kingdom had been placed; but in this attempt they were completely foiled, and he sternly refused to resign the jewels into their hands. The party which Sabilla had gained over to her interests proved, however, too powerful for opposition; and she eventually succeeded in causing Guy and herself to be proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem; in which disposition of the throne her nobles were reluctantly forced to acquiesce.

Saladin no sooner discovered that a quarrel had sprung up between the Christian magnates, for Raymond had retired in dudgeon to Tripoli, than he organised an expedition for the invasion of the perturbed kingdom, and laid siege to Acre. Previously, however, to its investment, a reinforcement from the military Orders, commanded by their respective Grand-Masters, threw themselves into the place. Desmoulins, without waiting

to be blockaded within its walls, collected his forces, and having armed such of the inhabitants as he deemed capable of performing military duty, he sallied forth at their head, under the cover of night. The sortie was at first perfectly successful. The Infidels, taken by surprise, and unable in the obscurity of the night to distinguish the numbers of the enemy, suffered themselves to be slaughtered helplessly in their camp; but when day broke, and the comparatively insignificant force of the Christians became perceptible, Saladin succeeded in rallying his battalions, and a regular combat ensued, without any decisive advantage on either side; but, as it resulted in his raising the siege of the town, the victory may well be assigned to the Christians.

The success, however, was purchased at the cost of a terrific slaughter on their part; chief among the slain being Roger Desmoulins, the Master of the Hospital, whose body was found upon the gory plain, surrounded by a pile of Saracens, who had fallen victims to the prowess of his arm, ere he himself had received his death-wound.

The country being in a state of active war, the council lost no time in nominating a successor to their deceased chief; and their choice fell on Garnier de Napoli, who thus became the eighth Master of the Order, a dignity which he occupied for a very few months, before he was doomed to fall, like his predecessor, beneath the scimitar of the Infidel. Saladin, having through the judicious conduct of Roger Desmoulins been foiled in his attempt upon Acre, turned his arms against Tiberias, a city of which Raymond, Count of Tripoli, was lord in right of his wife.

This prince had, prior to these events, become reconciled to Guy de Lusignan, through the joint good offices of the chiefs of the military Orders, the Grand-Master of the Temple being a firm ally and steadfast adherent of the king; and the Master of the Hospital, though by no means friendly to the government of Guy, acting under the conviction that, in the then desperate state of affairs, it was destruction to the prospects of the kingdom that there should be any dissensions among its chiefs: they had, therefore, persuaded Raymond to forget his wrongs, and to give the weight of his recognised military genius for the safety of Palestine.

When Raymond heard that Saladin was engaged in the siege of Tiberias, he magnanimously advised the king to leave the city to its fate, and endeavoured to persuade him to persevere in a strictly defensive line of conduct, averring that the Saracen army could not long subsist in its neighbourhood, owing to the extreme scarcity of water and provisions. Other and less sagacious counsels, however, prevailed. It was pointed out by the Grand-Master of the Templars, that if they collected all their forces, and fell upon the enemy whilst he was engaged in his siege operations, they might end the war by a single success; and it was not improbable that even Saladin himself might fall into their power. He also endeavoured to prejudice the king against the advice of Raymond, suggesting that he was in traitorous intercourse with Saladin, and was counselling such a mode of action as he conceived most likely to betray the kingdom. The king, who well knew the extent of the provocation Raymond had received at his hands, listened readily to the suggestions of the Templar, and, collecting all his available forces, marched in the di-

rection of Tiberias, determined to stake everything on the issue of a single field.

It was in vain that Raymond pointed out the extreme danger of this project, in vain did he give every rational advice as to the advance of the army; the ear of the king had been poisoned against him, and all his warnings were disregarded. By the advice of the Templar, who throughout Guy's reign appears to have been his evil genius, a spot was selected for encampment which the total absence of water soon rendered untenable. The Christian host now began to feel the ill-effects of that drought which the Count had prophesied would have overcome the Moslems, had they been left to themselves. Feeling it impossible to remain where he was, Lusignan advanced into the plain of Tiberias, to give battle to the Saracens.

The most powerful efforts were made, by the ecclesiastics who had accompanied the army, to excite the enthusiasm of the soldiery. The portion of the true cross, which had been so long held in the most profound veneration at Jerusalem, was present with the army; having been intrusted to the special guardianship of the military Orders; and, on this eventful occasion, was planted on an eminence, where throughout the day it served as a rallying point to the Christian host. The main object for which the king had decided upon giving immediate battle to the Saracens having been the want of water, since throughout the long summer's night not one drop of that precious liquid had been procurable, either for man or beast, the first efforts of his army were directed to the accomplishment of that object. The Lake of Tiberias, at a distance of two miles, lay calmly glittering in the sunshine, in the rear of the

Infidel host; and between it and the Christian army, now parched with thirst, and maddened by the tempting prospect, were drawn up the dense masses with which Saladin was prepared to resist their advance. In the van of the army stood the brothers of the Hospital and Temple, ready at the appointed signal to dash at their foe, and regardless of numbers to hew a pathway to the much desired lake. On they marched in firm array, and in a few moments were hidden amidst the cloud of Infidels by whom they were surrounded. In vain, however, was the most desperate valour displayed by both fraternities. Amongst the numerous vices of which the latter Order was accused, that of cowardice rarely held a place; and on this important field, with the fate of Christendom in the East depending on their prowess, they emulated with a generous rivalry, untinged by any meaner feeling, the deeds of their brothers of the Hospital. Side by side, these mailed warriors of the Church hurled themselves against the serried phalanx of the Infidel, and the fierce Templar war-cry, rising high above the din of battle, was re-echoed in gallant unison with that of the Hospital.

All, however, was in vain. The number of the Saracen host was too great for even their gallantry to overcome; and when led by a general of such skill and renown as Saladin, those numbers were used to the greatest possible advantage. As the day wore on, the impetuosity of the Christian attacks became less and less vehement, and the stubbornness of their resistance less determined; until at length, dispirited, exhausted, and broken, they yielded the field. Saladin pressed his victory to the uttermost, and, allowing the retreating army no breathing time for rallying their

disordered ranks, he poured his wild hordes on their broken columns, scattering them like chaff before the wind, and thus utterly completed their overthrow.

With this disastrous fight ended every hope of Christian domination: contrary to the advice of Raymond, Guy had staked the whole power of his kingdom on the issue of a single field, and the cast of the die had proved adverse; thus not only leaving Saladin master of the day, but his advance to the gates of Jerusalem totally unopposed. The king, the Grand-Master of the Temple, and several other lords of note fell into his hands; and Garnier, whose deeds of valour throughout the day had proved him well worthy of his exalted station, met the end of a true soldier of the cross, being so desperately wounded during the action, that he only survived long enough to reach Ascalon, where he died.

The whole of the misfortunes attending this ill-fated and ill-advised expedition have been very generally, but very wrongfully, laid to the charge of the Count of Tripoli. Feeling that the provocation he had received had been very great, and knowing that in the first moments of his wrath he had, in retiring to Tripoli, entered into communication with Saladin, it has been assumed that, throughout the operation, he was acting the part of a double-faced traitor. Some historians, not content with affixing this stigma upon his fame, actually go the lengths of asserting that he had privately become an apostate to his religion; and that after his death, whilst preparing his body for burial, it was discovered he had undergone the ceremony of circumcision. Without attempting to refute this latter statement, the absurd malice of which is borne upon

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its face, a little careful inquiry proves that the whole accusation is nothing more than a vile fabrication. The advice which he gave to the weak and pusillanimous Guy was always that of a sage and judicious counsellor; but being under suspicion, and possessing a most virulent enemy in the person of the Grand-Master of the Templars, who made up in rashness and obstinacy, for what he was deficient in judgment; his counsel was disregarded, the kingdom was lost, and he himself has fallen under the obloquy of partial historians, for a misfortune which he exerted all his powers of argument to avert. His death, occurring conveniently enough for them shortly afterwards, rendered him the most suitable person upon whom to cast the blame.

The loss of the Hospitallers, on this occasion, was fearfully large; since, in addition to the number of those who fell nobly fighting on the field of battle, such as were taken prisoners at its close were cruelly murdered by order of Saladin, he having previously given them the option of saving their lives by abjuring their faith, and adopting the tenets of Islamism: a proffer which was rejected by these Christian Knights with virtuous disdain; and thus, in their case, a life spent in combating for the establishment of the true faith, was sealed by the death of a martyr in the same holy cause.

The few remaining members of the Order, as soon as the account of the sad disaster of Tiberias and the fate of Garnier had reached them, assembled in sorrow and despair, once more to perform the duties of election, and, as it appeared to them, most probably for the last time. With some difficulty they persuaded

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View of Ruins of the Hospital of the Knights of St. John, at Jerusalem.

[*To face p. 103 of* VOL. I.

Ermengard Daps, on whom their choice had fallen, to accept the onerous post, and, this duty accomplished, the entire body prepared to meet their fate in the desperate struggle which now appeared imminent.

Saladin lost no time in reaping the fruits of his victory. The various fortresses on his route, denuded of their garrisons, which had aided in swelling the ranks of Guy's army, now that that army had vanished from before his path, became an easy prey; and, without any opposition being offered to his advance, he ere long made his appearance in front of the walls of Jerusalem. A resistance of fourteen days, prolonged for that length of time purely by the desperation of the defenders, who chose rather to fall beneath the sword of the Infidel than tamely to yield that sacred city gained by the cost of so much blood, ended in the capitulation of the place in October, 1187. In this hour of his triumph, Saladin behaved with a generosity hardly to have been expected from a Saracen chief. Instead of repeating the scenes of carnage which had disgraced the entry of the Christians on that selfsame spot, Saladin consented that the military and nobles should be permitted to proceed to Tyre, and he fixed a ransom for the population of the town at the rate of ten crowns per man, failing the payment of which they were to become slaves. In many instances, at the supplication of the queen and her retinue, he was induced to forego the payment of this ransom, and the Hospitallers freely lavished their remaining treasure in purchasing the liberty of many others, so that the number of those who were eventually doomed to slavery was comparatively small. He also, in consideration of the charitable offices in which they were employed, permitted ten of the fraternity of the Hospital to remain

for a limited period within the city, to complete the cure of those sick who were under their charge.* Thus,

* Vide Appendix, No. 9. Saladin appears to have held the Order in the highest possible esteem, and an anecdote is recorded of him, which, though not bearing with it the impress of probability, marks the feeling with which he is considered to have regarded his relentless foes of the Hospital. Having heard of the boundless liberality and anxious care lavished by the brethren upon all who sought the shelter of their institution, whether Christian or Infidel, Saladin determined to test the truth of this report. He therefore disguised himself in the garb of a Syrian peasant, and in that guise entered Jerusalem, and presented himself at the doors of the Hospital, as a suppliant for their bounty. He was received at once, and his apparent wants carefully attended to. In pursuit of his design, he lay still the whole day, and rejected all offers of food, alleging that he was unable to partake of any nourishment. The following day he continued the same line of conduct, so that the charitable brothers began to fear lest he would starve to death. On the third morning, being again warmly pressed to partake of some food, and being requested to name anything which could provoke his appetite, he, after much apparent hesitation, at length suggested that the only food for which he had any fancy would be a piece of the leg of the Master's favourite horse, cut off in his presence. The brothers were at first struck with consternation at such an extraordinary request, but the rules of their Hospital were most rigid upon the point of yielding, to the utmost possible extent, to the fancies of their patients. They therefore at once communicated the wish to the Master, who, loth as he was to lose his favourite charger, hesitated not a moment in ordering him to be taken to the Hospital, there to undergo, in the presence of the unfortunate patient, the amputation necessary to gratify his inconvenient desires. All was now ready; the butcher stood prepared to strike the limb from the unfortunate animal, and Saladin became convinced that the fraternity suffered nothing to interfere with what they considered the sacred duties of hospitality, no, not even the favourite charger of their chief, when asked for by the meanest Syrian peasant. He declared that the desire to gratify his craving had proved amply sufficient for his want; and begged them to return the noble beast to his stable, as he now felt equal to partake of ordinary food. He left the Hospital disguised as he had been on his entrance, and, having rejoined his army, con-

after a tenure of 88 years, the Christians were forced to turn their backs on the scene of so many struggles, hopes, and triumphs; the crescent was once again waving over those ramparts where the white cross of the Hospital had for so many years fanned the breeze, and the church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord was once again converted into a Mahometan mosque. Was it for this that Peter had, in the preceding century, thundered forth his denunciations against the Infidel, and aroused to a pitch of madness the enthusiasm of millions? Was it for this that Europe had poured forth her votaries, in countless hosts, to whiten the shores of Palestine with their bones? Was it for this that generations of zealous devotees had consecrated their swords and their lives to the preservation of that precious conquest, wrung at such fearful cost from the grasp of the Infidels? It was, alas, too true! Europe had stood supinely looking on, whilst the Moslem was slowly but surely weaving the web of destruction round the sacred province; and now when it was too late, when all was lost, and that hallowed soil was once more desecrated by the worship of the Arabian impostor, a cry of indignation and vengeance arose on every side.

It might be well, ere passing from this scene of disaster to the Christian arms, a tale of shame and disgrace painful to record, to pause for awhile and analyse the causes which led to so speedy a decline and fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It may be attributed to two

tinued his warfare against the Christians; retaining, however, the warmest regard for those noble-minded Nazarenes who were thus prepared to sacrifice everything at the shrine of duty. Some writers go so far as to assert that he made several liberal donations to the institution, but there is no record existing of any such fact.

circumstances, one the increase and concentration of the power of the Moslem, and the other the decadence and disunion of that of the Latins. When the first Crusaders established themselves on the shores of Palestine, they found the Infidels divided into factions, and combating with a rancour and animosity, on certain disputed tenets of their faith, such as only a religious warfare could excite. Either party was ready to coalesce with the new comers for the overthrow of their rivals; and the Christians thus, in most of their earlier campaigns, were sure of being able to count on the aid of one or other of the rival factions. As, however, the power of the Turkomans became more and more consolidated, and opposing pretensions were concentrated in the person of a single leader, the position of the Latins became annually more and more precarious. The troops also which the Saracens brought into the field had improved greatly in their discipline during this period, the lessons taught them by their European opponents were not thrown away, and they eventually nearly, if not quite, equalled those armies in their prowess and skill, which they always vastly exceeded in numbers.

On the side of the Christians, the cause may be found in the disunion existing between themselves. Instead of a firm and steadfast alliance between their chiefs, which constituted their only chance of retaining ultimate safety; they were prepared, at every trivial quarrel, and for each petty jealousy, to jeopardise the existence of the kingdom. The disputes between the ecclesiastics and the military Orders already alluded to, disputes originating chiefly in the greed of the clergy, who were loth to see so wealthy a community as that of St. John exempted from the payment of tithes; and the jealousies latterly spring-

ing up between that Order and the Templars*, for instead of confining their rivalry to a friendly emulation whilst combating against their common foe, they appeared more intent upon thwarting and frustrating each other, than in opposing the Saracen; were all so many contributing causes to the final catastrophe.

That, in these quarrels and jealousies, the Order of St. John was always in the right, it would be going too far to assert; still the history of the times clearly shows that in their disputes with the clergy they were most unjustly attacked, and merely defended a privilege granted them from the See of Rome, the common superior both of themselves and the rival ecclesiastics; and as regards their dissensions with the Templars, the conduct of that Order during the latter part of this eventful period renders it very difficult to decide the dispute in their favour, against the pretensions of the Hospitallers, upon whose fair fame no blot had as yet fallen, such as those which had so deeply tarnished the escutcheon of their rivals. The weight of contemporary evidence certainly leans very decidedly in their favour.†

In a letter which the young and gallant Conrad of Montferrat addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, whilst engaged in defending the city of Tyre from the attack of the victorious Saladin, he says: "All succour is denied to me, and what is still worse, the Grand-Master of the Templars has carried off the money, which the king of England had sent for me. As to the Hospitallers,

* Vide Appendix, No. 10.

† In a letter written by the Grand-Preceptor of the Temple to Henry II. of England at this time, he bears testimony to the admirable conduct of the Order of the Hospital at this crisis, and the exception made in their favour by Saladin. Vide Appendix, No. 9.

I have nothing but praise to record of them, and I call God and yourself to witness my gratitude towards them; for from the moment when they first took up arms in the defence of this place, they have never ceased to render the greatest possible service; and so far from imitating the Templars, by retaining that portion of the subsidy from the king of England which they were bound to furnish, they have, in addition, positively spent upwards of eight thousand crowns of their own money in the defence of Tyre." Another anecdote of the period will also serve to show the general estimation in which the Order of the Templars was held. Whilst Richard, king of England, was in Normandy, on his road to the East, a priest named Fulke, vicar of Neuilly, who was addressing an exhortation to him, concluded his harangue with the impertinent peroration, that, in order to succeed in his emprise, he should lay aside those besetting sins, which he designated his three daughters, namely, pride, avarice, and luxury. The king at once retorted the accusation by replying: "If I am compelled to part with these three daughters of mine, I do not think I can provide for them in a more suitable manner, than by bestowing the first of them on the Templars, the second on the monastic orders, and the third on the bishops of my realm." It is impossible to see so much concurrent testimony, from so many different impartial witnesses, without feeling that the two Orders had achieved a very different reputation, and were regarded with very different feelings by the powers of Christendom; feelings which were not long in finding a vent, and which fully accounted for the difference of the fate which in after years befel them.

CHAP. V.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOSPITAL AT MARGAT. — RETIREMENT OF THE LADIES OF THE ORDER TO EUROPE. — THE THIRD CRUSADE. — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ACRE. — GUY DE LUSIGNAN MADE KING OF CYPRUS. — REFORMS OF ALPHONSO OF PORTUGAL. — HIS RESIGNATION AND DEATH. — FOURTH CRUSADE. — CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS. — DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS. — ANDREW, KING OF HUNGARY, ADMITTED A KNIGHT OF THE ORDER. — FIFTH CRUSADE. — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF DAMIETTA. — ADVANCE INTO EGYPT. — FATAL RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION. — MARRIAGE OF THE EMPEROR FREDERIC WITH VIOLANTE. — TREATY WITH THE SARACENS. — CORONATION OF FREDERIC AT JERUSALEM. — HIS RETURN TO EUROPE, AND PERSECUTION OF THE MILITARY ORDERS. — ACCUSATIONS BROUGHT AGAINST THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.

THE capture of Jerusalem, detailed at the close of the last chapter, deprived the Order of St. John of that home which for upwards of a century had constituted a shelter, not only for themselves, but also for those among their co-religionists whose misfortunes had caused them to seek the aid of their charitable ministrations. The building which, with such pious zeal and forethought, had been originally appropriated to these kindly functions through the liberality of the Amalfi merchants, once more reverted to the possession of the Infidel, whence no succeeding effort was able to wrest it. It is worthy of note, that, after having remained thus estranged from its original purposes during a period of upwards of 650 years, the site of this Hospital has once more become a Christian

possession, the present sultan of Turkey having made it over to the French, as a mark of gratitude for the services rendered by that nation in the memorable Crimean struggle of 1854—1855.

Thus rudely expelled from their home, the fraternity betook themselves, diminished in number and with an exhausted treasury, to Margat, a town which still acknowledged the sway of the Christians. Within the sheltering bulwarks of this fortress they established their convent and hospital, and, as far as their reduced finances permitted, continued to carry on those charitable duties which, during the most stirring times of warfare, had never been permitted to suffer neglect.

The Order may be considered at this period to have reached a very low ebb; and to have approached so nearly to extinction, from the numerous adverse circumstances with which it had been driven to contend, that it appears somewhat marvellous it should have been possessed of sufficient vitality to survive the blow. Whilst tracing the course of its history through the four succeeding centuries, we shall find it frequently overborne by the weight of accumulated calamities, and apparently on the very verge of destruction: but we shall as often find it rising again, like the phœnix from its ashes; and as the giant who, when wrestling with Hercules, received an accession of strength from his mother earth after every fall, so shall we find this illustrious Order, as soon as the dark clouds which overhung its fortunes were dispersed, springing up anew with increased vitality and redoubled renown.

The ladies of the Order, rudely torn from their homes, and unequal to cope with the hardships that must necessarily have beset a further residence in Palestine, aban-

doned the Holy Land for ever, and divided themselves amongst their various branch establishments in Europe. It has already been mentioned that they were possessed of a very extensive settlement at Bucklands, in Somersetshire, the gift of Henry II. to the Hospital; and hither came a great number of the wandering sisterhood. The queen of Aragon had also shortly before, with regal munificence, established an extensive nunnery at the village of Sixenne, near Saragossa, for the accommodation of the ladies of St. John. This also threw open its hospitable doors for the reception of all those who sought its shelter; and here these pious devotees passed the remainder of their lives in the strictest seclusion, mourning the loss of their sacred and long-cherished homes, and bewailing the untimely fate of those heroes of the Hospital who now lay cold and lifeless beneath the gory soil of Palestine.

The history of the Order, throughout its residence in the East, was so closely connected with that of the kingdom of Jerusalem, that it would have been difficult to trace the progress of the one without entering into some detail with regard to the other. Now, however, that the fortunes of that kingdom have been followed, from its first origin, through the various vicissitudes which led to the loss of its capital city, the remainder of its melancholy history may be glanced at more briefly, bearing in mind that, in all the wars and struggles with which the period was rife, the Hospitallers bore a noble part, contending with unflagging zeal against ever-increasing obstacles.

The incidents which marked the third Crusade have been so frequently recorded, and are so well known to all readers, that they call but for a passing remark in

these pages. Boasting among its leaders no less than four crowned heads, the emperor of Germany, Richard of England, Philip Augustus of France, and Leopold of Austria, this expedition found Guy de Lusignan roused from the torpor into which he had been plunged by the destruction of his kingdom, and engaged in the siege of Acre, aided by the military Orders. This city, the Ptolemais of the Romans, was the most important maritime post on the shores of Syria, and had opened its gates to the Saracen army without resistance after the disastrous conflict of Tiberias. For three years, from the date of its first investment, was its defence maintained, despite all the gallantry of the besiegers, led on as they were during the latter portion of the time by the lion-hearted Richard himself. At the expiration, however, of that period, the efforts of the Christian army were crowned with success, and the town was driven to surrender.

Hither, as soon as order was in some degree restored, the Hospitallers removed their convent from Margat; and it was in this new establishment that Ermengard Daps peacefully breathed his last, in the year 1192. The siege of Acre may be noted for the formation of a fourth military Order, which during its progress was called into existence. This fraternity, which received the name of the Teutonic Order, was composed exclusively of Germans. Their dress consisted of a white mantle with a black cross embroidered in gold; and the rules of their governance were in close approximation to those of the Hospitallers and Templars.

The capture of Acre led to no further successes on the part of the Christian army; dissensions, such as must ever be ready to spring up in a force composed of

so many anomalous and heterogeneous materials, soon arose, and the length of time during which the siege was protracted exhausted the enthusiasm of the army. Most of its leaders had already, on various pretences, returned to Europe, and the city had no sooner fallen into their hands, than a vast proportion of the remainder followed their contagious example. In vain Richard of England strove to keep together the few remaining fragments of the expedition; not even his fiery energy and dauntless perseverance could overcome the reluctance with which any further advance into the country was undertaken; so that he was at length, much against his own desire, driven to conclude a truce with Saladin, and to abandon the cause which he had so much at heart, and in which he personally had reaped such an ample meed of glory.

On the demise of Ermengard Daps at Acre, a knight named Godfrey of Duisson was elected in his place, whose lineage and nation appear to be very uncertain, though some writers affirm that he originally came from Picardy. Shortly after his accession an event occurred which, for a few short years, gave a little breathing time to the shattered fragments of the Latin kingdom. The renowned Saladin, that terror of the Christians whose ruthless scimitar had drunk the life's blood of so many of their number, and had torn the sacred city from their enfeebled grasp, died in 1193, leaving his empire to be divided amongst his eleven sons. As may readily be imagined, such a legacy, like the famed apple of the Goddess of Discord, kindled flames of civil commotion from end to end of the newly consolidated Saracen empire. Had this internecine warfare been permitted

to continue for any length of time, it is very probable that the Latins might have been enabled to re-establish themselves with greater durability, and more extended empire than before; but, unfortunately for the prospects of the Christian cause, Saffradin, brother of the deceased chieftain, taking advantage of his nephews' struggles against each other, overpowered them in detail, and re-organised the empire on a basis nearly as extensive as it had been during the reign of his brother.

While these events, however, were occurring, the Latins found time to make such preparations as were in their power, to secure their few remaining possessions from the attacks of the Infidel. Richard of England having, on his road to the Holy Land, touched at Cyprus, had been by its monarch refused permission to enter the harbour, or to refit at the island. Irate with this uncalled for want of hospitality, Richard, who was not a monarch to submit tamely to insult under any circumstances, and who was at this moment supported by a large force, immediately seized the island by storm, bringing away the king and his daughter prisoners in his train to Acre. Whilst, however, he was loading the father with chains of silver *, he was, if ancient scandal may be credited, himself becoming entangled in the rosy bonds of love by the daughter. Be this as it may, he eventually bestowed her hand, and with it the kingdom of Cyprus, on Guy de Lusignan, whose position had become of that dubious nature, that he was not above wedding with the cast off mistress of the king when

* The king of Cyprus murmured bitterly at being secured, like a common prisoner, with iron fetters. Richard, with sarcastic irony, directed chains of silver to be substituted; and, strange to say, the vain and weak-minded prince appeared much gratified at the change.

coupled with a throne, though only of such limited extent as that of Cyprus.

At Guy's death, his brother Almeric succeeded to that crown, and was shortly afterwards, through the good offices of the Hospitaller Godfrey, united to Isabella, the widow, successively, of Conrad and of the Count of Champagne, and at the same time the divorced wife of Humphrey of Thorom. As at Guy's death this princess became his undoubted successor to the crown of Jerusalem, Almeric, by his marriage, succeeded in establishing his claim to the dignity, destitute though it was of all the attributes of a kingdom. In order to enable him to reside constantly in Palestine, where his presence was most imperatively called for, to hold together the few remaining possessions which still acknowledged his sway, the two military Orders undertook to protect the island of Cyprus on his behalf, and to guarantee its retention under his government. This island, from its position, formed a most advantageous base of operations, from whence to support the isolated posts still held by the Christians in Palestine, and strong detachments from both Orders were sent there to insure its safety from aggression.

The chronology of these times is so very obscure, that it is an absolute impossibility to trace, with exactitude, the dates at which each change in the government of the Hospital took place. None of the fraternity, at this early period, seem ever to have undertaken the task of chronicling the achievements of themselves and of their companions in arms: we are, therefore, totally dependent on such writers as have treated generally of the fortunes of the kingdom of Palestine, and of the numerous Crusades by which it was from

time to time supported. The military Orders are only very cursorily mentioned, and the most confusing contradictions in names and dates constantly occur, rendering it very difficult to determine which are most probable to be correct. Godfrey appears to have died in 1194, and to have been succeeded by Alphonso of Portugal. This Knight laid claim to belong to the royal family of Portugal, since the inscription on his tomb, which was erected by himself during his lifetime, ran thus: "Alphonso, master of the holy Hospital of Jerusalem, son of the king of Portugal," &c. &c. As, however, the history of Portugal makes no mention of such a scion of the royal family, it is probable that, even could he boast of royal blood in his veins, it was sullied by the bar sinister.

The advent of Alphonso was the signal for the most rigid reform in the constitution of the Order. The century which had elapsed since their first establishment had brought many changes in the habits and mode of life of the period, by the introduction of luxuries which, during its earlier times, had been unknown. The Hospitallers had followed in the tide of progress; and advancing civilisation, with its softening influences, had produced many innovations by no means in accordance with the rigid code of regulations framed by the austere Raymond du Puy. Alphonso was one of those men so common in every station, and in all ages, who, without discernment sufficient to mark the signs of the times, are determined to abide rigidly by the rules of their forefathers. Need we look far to see many a parallel to this blindness and obstinacy, even in our own times? It is, however, utterly vain for any one man to attempt opposing himself to the stream of pro-

gress ever rolling onwards; and nothing short of complete isolation from all communication with the surrounding world, would have enabled the Hospitallers to conform to the antiquated views of their bigoted chief. Rules, which in the days of Raymond merely engendered simplicity of life and the absence of vain and ostentatious pomp, would, if enforced a century later, have involved a degree of austerity never contemplated by him. Impressed, however, with the necessity of a rigid observance of the oaths taken on his accession to office, Alphonso at once commenced to enforce the discipline originally ordained by Raymond.

In this endeavour he met with the most vehement opposition from the council where his intentions were promulgated, and so strenuously and pertinaciously were the objections of the fraternity urged, that he completely lost all control over his temper; and thundering forth from the presidential chair the imperious mandate, "I will be obeyed, and that without reply," he attempted to silence remonstrance by an appeal to his authority. Language such as this had not of late years been heard at the council board, and an immediate outcry proclaimed the resentment of the members. Open rebellion promptly succeeded to remonstrance, and Alphonso was, ere long, taught that the estimate he had formed of his magisterial power was greatly exaggerated. Disgusted at the failure of his attempt, and cowed by the storm of opposition which he had raised, he resigned his post, abandoned the Holy Land, and retired to Portugal; where he shortly afterwards fell in an engagement, during one of the civil wars of that nation.

The attempts made by the powers of Western Europe to restore the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to somewhat of its pristine vigour were, during the first half of the thirteenth century, extremely numerous; and had they been properly directed, and never diverted to any other object than that for which they were organised, they must have succeeded in the perfect re-establishment of that kingdom. The history of the times, however, is filled with the petty jealousies and the rancorous hatreds which were perpetually arising to thwart any vigorous or concerted movement; and wave after wave surged upon the shores of Palestine, to be driven back, more through their own impatience, than the power of the Infidel. One of these expeditions, diverted from its original purpose, turned its arms against the city of Constantinople; and, wresting it from the enfeebled grasp of the Byzantine dynasty, converted it for a brief space into a Latin kingdom, the crown of which was given to Baldwin, Count of Flanders.

Meanwhile Almeric had died, leaving vacant the two thrones of Jerusalem and Cyprus; the former of which was inherited by Mary, daughter of Isabella by her first spouse. It was the unhappy lot of Palestine, at a time when she most had need of a clear head and a firm hand to guide her councils and rule her armies, that her crown should be worn either by women or by children. To obviate the evils likely to result from female sway at so critical a moment, a deputation was sent to Philip Augustus of France, requesting him to nominate a prince who should receive the hand of the new queen, and with it the crown of Jerusalem. John of Brienne, Count of Vienna, was by Philip selected as a prince worthy of this heritage of danger and glory; and immediately upon his arrival in the Holy Land

he was united to Mary, and assumed the sway of his attenuated realm.

While these changes were variously affecting Palestine, the dissensions between the two Orders of the Hospital and Temple, which had long been smouldering with ill-disguised virulence, burst forth into open hostility. There had during many years existed a deep-seated feeling of jealousy between the rival fraternities, a jealousy rendered the more rancorous on the part of the Templars from a feeling of inferiority on the score of wealth and worldly aggrandisement. Matthew Paris, who, as a contemporary historian, is worthy of credit in the matter, estimates the property of the Hospital in the various states of Europe, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, to have reached 19,000 manors, whilst that of the Temple only amounted to 9000. The term manor in those days was used to signify that portion of land which could be tilled by one yoke of oxen. This great difference in point of wealth, marking as it did the superior estimation in which the first-named Order was held throughout Christendom, naturally excited the most hostile feelings amongst their rivals, and this at last found a vent in open warfare.

In close proximity to the town of Margat, where, as has already been related, the Hospitallers established their convent after their expulsion from Jerusalem by Saladin, stood a castle possessed by a Knight named Robert de Margat, who held the property as a vassal to the Hospitallers, and acknowledged them to be his feudal lords. To this castle the Templars laid claim, and, supporting their pretensions by force, seized upon the disputed property. Robert de Margat immediately claimed the protection of the Hospitallers, whose vassal

he considered himself to be; and these latter, incensed at the unprovoked outrage committed by their rivals, mustered their forces, sallied forth from their neighbouring establishment at Margat, and retook the post by storm. From this moment a systèmatic warfare sprang up between the Orders, and the most sanguinary combats ensued. Utterly oblivious of the vows they had taken at their profession, and of the obligations then imposed upon them, they turned those swords which had been consecrated to the sacred cause of religion, with fratricidal rage, against each other; and, throughout the length and breadth of the land, men's hearts were filled with dismay at the lamentable spectacle thus afforded.

Alarmed at the imminent danger likely to accrue from this ill-timed antagonism on the part of those who had hitherto been the most energetic, and oftentimes the only defenders of the kingdom, the patriarch and the other ecclesiastics appealed to the Pope for his interference in the matter. That prelate, after having heard the opposing claims of the deputies which both Orders had despatched to Rome in their defence, decided that neither party was free from blame. The Hospitallers had acted unjustifiably and in opposition to the rules of their Order, in endeavouring to redress by force of arms the wrong which they considered had been done them; and, on the other hand, the claims of the Templars over the castle in question were unfounded. Under these circumstances, he directed that, in the first place, the Hospitallers should retire from the disputed property, leaving it in the possession of the Templars, who, in their turn, should restore it to Robert de Margat at the expiration of one month. Matters were thus at length amicably settled, and a temporary truce, since peace it

could scarcely be called, was established between the rival factions.

John of Brienne, having failed in his efforts to carry with him to the East an army sufficiently powerful to establish the rights to which he had become entitled by his marriage with the young queen of Jerusalem, implored the Pope to aid him in this critical juncture. Innocent III., who at this time ruled the See of Rome, entered warmly into his wishes, and supported by Robert de Courçon, an English ecclesiastic who partook largely of the enthusiastic zeal of St. Bernard and Peter the Hermit, he caused a Crusade to be preached in every cathedral and church throughout Western Christendom.

The first results of these efforts showed themselves in the force which in the year 1216, with Andrew, king of Hungary, at its head, made its way to the East. At Cyprus Andrew met the Master of the Hospitallers, with whom he had appointed a rendezvous in that island; and, escorted by his fleet of galleys, they proceeded in company to Acre. Here he refused the palace which the king of Jerusalem had prepared for his reception, preferring to take up his abode in the convent of St. John. He was indeed so impressed with the admirable manner in which the duties of the Hospital were conducted in that city, as well as at Margat, which he likewise visited, that he announced his desire of becoming enrolled as one of its members. Anomalous as it may appear, for a monarch, whilst swaying the destinies of an empire, to take upon himself the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, his desire was complied with, and the ceremony of investiture completed. Thus the king of Hungary became the first crowned head who had been received as a Knight-Hospitaller of Jerusalem;

and he celebrated the event by a becoming act of dotation, settling upon the Order an annuity of seven hundred silver marks, secured upon the salt mines of his kingdom.

His brief sojourn in Palestine was, however, productive of little or no good to the kingdom: his was a mind far too unstable for any grand enterprise, and, ere he had been three months at the head of his forces, the mere impulse of restlessness, aided, as some writers assert, by grief at the assassination of his queen, the news of which had reached him during his stay at Cyprus, caused him to abandon the war, and, despite all the threats of excommunication fulminated against him by the patriarch, he returned to Europe.

John of Brienne was not deterred by this defection from carrying on his struggle for empire. Fresh bodies of Crusaders having made their appearance from Europe, it was decided that siege should be laid to Damietta, then considered the key to Egypt, and this was accordingly commenced in the month of May, A.D. 1218, the military Orders as usual occupying a conspicuous position in the van of the army. During its continuance, the sultan of Egypt, doubtful of the powers of resistance which the place afforded, and dreading lest its fall should occasion the loss of his entire kingdom, proposed a treaty to the Christian powers, in virtue of which, Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine, with two exceptions, were to revert to Latin dominion, and all prisoners in the hands of the sultan were to be released, provided the siege of Damietta was raised, and the invasion of Egypt abandoned. John of Brienne and most of his nobility, including the Master of the Hospitallers, were urgent in their desire that this most advantageous treaty should be accepted;

but the Papal legate, Pelagius, who had usurped the most unlimited authority in the allied camp, was of a different opinion, and in this he was joined by the Templars, whose animosity to their rivals of the Hospital was such, that the mere fact of the latter having expressed themselves in favour of the acceptance of the treaty proposed by the sultan was in itself sufficient to cause them to urge its rejection. The opinion of Pelagius, backed as it was by the Templars, gained the day; the offers of the sultan were disdainfully rejected, and the siege was pushed on with redoubled vigour; without, however, the further assistance of John of Brienne, who for a time absented himself in dudgeon from an army of which he was indeed the nominal head, but where, in point of fact, the imperious legate ruled with absolute power.

After a defence protracted through upwards of a year, Damietta fell into the hands of the Christians, more on account of the complete exhaustion of its defenders, than from the efforts of its assailants. Its population, which at the commencement of the siege numbered upwards of seventy thousand inhabitants, could at its close barely muster three thousand; and the Christians, as they entered the place, found it nothing but one vast grave.

Fresh divisions arose in the councils of the army on the capture of Damietta. The king, who had by this time returned to his post, the Hospitallers, and those who had all along supported his views, contended strongly in favour of an advance on Jerusalem; whilst the legate, the Templars, and their party, were equally urgent in advising a penetration into the heart of Egypt, and the complete overthrow of that monarchy, as being

the most certain method of permanently securing the safety of the Latin kingdom. The latter gained the day; and the army, turning its back upon the sacred city, advanced into Egypt, accompanied by the king, who, though feeling most bitterly the secondary position in which he found himself placed, could not bring himself to abandon a cause in which he had so much at stake.

The Christians boldly pushed their way into the midst of the small islands comprising the delta of the Nile, the Egyptian forces retreating before them; but here they found a new and invincible enemy prepared to combat against them. The sultan, having caused the banks of the river to be broken down, flooded the whole country, and completely surrounded the Latin forces with an impassable lake. Advance or retreat were equally impracticable, whilst to remain where they were entailed certain and immediate starvation. In this unfortunate dilemma, brought on completely by the ignorance and presumption of Pelagius, the Christians had no resource but to enter into a composition with the enemy; and they were at length driven to purchase their liberty by the surrender of all their recent acquisitions. Damietta was restored to the Egyptians; the army returned to Acre; and thus fruitlessly ended a campaign which at one time bade fair to lead to the complete restoration of the kingdom of Palestine.

The unfortunate result of this expedition, however, could not dismay the high spirit of the people of Western Europe; and they at once prepared for further and still more energetic efforts for the recovery of Jerusalem. Herman de Saltza, the head of the Teutonic Order, returned to Europe to solicit aid from the

German emperor Frederic. He proposed to that potentate that he should marry Violante, the daughter and heiress of John of Brienne, at this time twelve years of age; and it was conceived that her father could be readily induced to resign his crown in favour of his new son-in-law. Flattered with this prospect, and tempted by the kingdom thus tendered for his acceptance, Frederic, with the sanction of the Pope, espoused Violante; and John of Brienne, weary of a throne which existed but in name, resigned all his pretensions in his favour.

Delays of various natures caused a period of five years to elapse before Frederic found himself on the shores of Syria; and, during this time, the ill feeling which had been gradually growing up between himself and the Pope broke into open hostilities. A sentence of excommunication was fulminated against the emperor, ostensibly on account of the delays which had interfered with his Crusade; and he, in his turn, invaded and ravaged the Papal dominions. Undeterred, however, by these ecclesiastical thunders, and whilst still lying under the anathema of his Holiness, Frederic proceeded to Palestine, accompanied by a considerable force in 1228; and prepared at once to march into the interior of the country.

A difficulty at first arose with the military Orders, who were unwilling to render any aid to a prince who had been placed beyond the pale of the Church, and to whom the Pope had forbidden them to render any assistance whatever. Eventually, however, matters were amicably arranged between them; and the army proceeded on its march to Jerusalem, meeting with no opposition on the part of the Saracens. Camel, the

sultan of Egypt, dreading the ambition of his brother Coradinus, and anxious consequently to ingratiate himself with the new comers, made overtures of peace to the emperor; and thus, without striking a blow, Frederic was enabled to conclude a treaty on behalf of the Christians, far more advantageous than any which his predecessors had extorted from the hand of the Infidel. Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were restored to the Latins; and the Holy Sepulchre was to be once more free to their pilgrims, with the sole proviso that the followers of Mahomet were likewise to have uninterrupted access to the sacred spot, which they had named the Mosque of Omar. Whilst at Jerusalem, Frederic caused himself to be crowned in this church; but, owing to the ecclesiastical ban under which he lay, none of the clerical dignitaries of the kingdom, or of the Orders of the Hospital and Temple, assisted at the ceremony. The Teutonic Knights, however, preferring their temporal to their ecclesiastical allegiance, supported the emperor throughout, and their Grand-Master pronounced a laudatory oration at the close of the coronation ceremony.

This latter Order had, ever since its formation during the siege of Acre, rendered the most vital assistance to the feeble state; and acting, as it invariably did, in conjunction with the two others, it most justly shared with them the glory which the protracted defence of the relics of that kingdom had earned. From the date, however, of Frederic's return to Europe, the assistance rendered by the Teutonic Knights was lost to Palestine. Following in the train of their emperor, they returned to Germany, where their achievements, though frequently glorious and worthy of record, have no

further place in these pages.* It is asserted by the imperial writers that, during Frederic's stay in Jerusalem, a most foul and treasonous conspiracy was entered into between the Hospitallers and Templars to betray him into the hands of the Saracens, to which disgraceful act they were instigated by his bitter enemy the Pope. This treachery was discovered through the magnanimity of the sultan of Egypt, who, with a righteous indignation at the authors of so disgraceful a plot, lost no time in making the emperor acquainted with the entire project. That there was some truth in the allegation appears, from collateral evidence, to be too true; although many of the Papal writers have not hesitated to assert that the story had its origin in the fertile brain of Frederic himself, who was anxious to frame some plausible pretext for abandoning an enterprise into which he had been forced by the remonstrances of the Pope, sorely against his own inclination. The discovery of this disgraceful conspiracy in a great measure accounts for, nay even to some extent excuses, the animosity with which Frederic ever after regarded those Orders, and the persecutions and extortions to which he subjected them. Matthew Paris, however, whilst recording the fact, expressly mentions that the infamy of the action lay in a less degree with the Hospitallers than the Templars; though he is silent as to the facts upon which he founds the distinction thus made between them. The historians of those ages were not exempt from the faults of later writers, in distorting facts in order to make them accord

* A few members of the Order remained in Palestine until the final expulsion of the Latins from its shores; and they are mentioned as sharing in the defence of Acre, but the main body retired with Frederic.

with their prejudices; and events were then, as now, depicted very differently when regarded through opposing mediums. Thus we find those who wrote in the imperial interest averring that, by the treaty entered into with the Saracens by Frederic, the Christians were once more placed on as advantageous a footing as that which they held before the ill-fated battle of Tiberias; whilst the Papal writers assert that it formed an express stipulation in the treaty that the fortifications of Jerusalem, which had been razed by the Saracens during the siege of Damietta, should not be restored; thus rendering the possession of the city by the Christians an absolute nullity. This stipulation is also distinctly alluded to by Abulfeda, and the fact that no attempts were made to restore the walls of the place during its brief reoccupation by the Latins appears to corroborate the statement.

As soon as Frederic had thus formally established his claim to the throne by the act of coronation performed in Jerusalem, he returned to Europe where his presence was urgently required, pledging himself, however, to maintain a considerable force for the protection of Palestine. Whilst these events were occurring, several changes had taken place in the governance of the Order of St. John. At the resignation of Alphonso of Portugal in 1195, Jeffrey Le Rat, a knight of the French language, was elected in his place, who, by the mildness of his government and the urbanity of his conduct, was not long in restoring that peace and unanimity in their councils so rudely disturbed by the violent reforms of Alphonso. Jeffrey died in 1207, and was in his turn succeeded by Guérin de Montagu, of the language of Auvergne. It was during his Mastership that both

the Crusades lately recorded took place, and he bore a prominent and glorious part throughout them. He lived until the year 1230, thus enjoying his dignities for a period of twenty-three years, a longer rule than that of any Knight who had been elected since the death of the venerable Raymond du Puy.

Bertrand de Texis succeeded Guerin at a time when the affairs of the unfortunate kingdom were in a state of confusion even still more lamentable than that which was the usual lot of this precarious monarchy. The Emperor Frederic had found, upon his return to Europe, that the constant warfare in which he was engaged against the Pope, prevented him from sending those succours which on leaving Palestine he had faithfully promised to the council of the realm. His wife Violante had lately died in giving birth to a son, named Conrad, who was through her heir to the crown of Jerusalem. In the absence of the infant prince and his father, rival claimants appeared to dispute his title; and the scandalous injustice with which the emperor was at this time treating the military Orders, whose European property he was seizing, pillaging, and confiscating, wherever it was exposed to the violence of his power, rendered it but natural that they should avail themselves of this opportunity for revenge. To their credit, however, it is recorded, that in spite of the ill usage which they had been receiving at his hands, they nevertheless remained true to their allegiance to him as their legitimate sovereign, under all provocations, and in the teeth of the seductive temptations held out to them by his rivals. The Pope felt so deeply on the subject of these wanton aggressions on the part of the emperor, that he addressed a special letter to him on the subject, exhort-

ing him to make to both Orders immediate restitution, upon the plea of the good service which they were daily rendering in the protection of the tottering kingdom of Palestine.*

This letter is the more important in an historical point of view, because in it the Pope warmly extols the military Orders, and appears to consider their conduct worthy of the highest approbation and sympathy; whereas we find him only eight years later writing in the most vehement strain to the Master Bertrand de Comps, and making the gravest possible charges against the discipline of the fraternity. In this document he accuses them, on the faith as he asserts of undeniable authority, of harbouring within their convents women of loose character, of possessing individually private property in opposition to their vow of poverty, and of assisting the enemies of the Church with horses and arms, together with a long catalogue of other crimes, evidently collected together by their inveterate and implacable enemies the ecclesiastics of Palestine.†

It is more than probable that some portion of these accusations may have been founded in truth. We have already seen Alphonso of Portugal endeavouring to introduce reforms into his convent, and losing his magisterial dignity in consequence; we may also safely conclude that the haughty spirits which so vehemently resisted his energetic measures had not become curbed during the milder rule of his successors. Yet it seems impossible to review all the concurrent testimony which bears upon the question, without feeling that the gravity

* Vide Appendix, No. 11.

† Vide Appendix, No. 12.

of these charges is in no way borne out by the facts. Twenty years had barely elapsed since the king of Hungary, who, whilst residing at the convent, had had every opportunity of judging as to the regularity and decorum of their conduct, expressed himself so highly edified by what he there witnessed that he caused himself to be enrolled as a member of the fraternity. Twelve years later again we find, as above stated, the Pope himself once more reiterating his approbation of their conduct, thus ratifying the oft-expressed sanction of his predecessors; an approbation which could hardly have been extorted had such crying irregularities as those denoted in his second letter at that time existed; nor is it probable that these vices, so scandalous in their nature, and bearing such barefaced effrontery in their practice, could have gained a footing in the short space of eight years; it may therefore safely be concluded that, whilst in all probability such irregularities may have crept into the convent as would render a reform highly advisable, still that the crimes detailed with such malevolent emphasis in the Pope's letter to Bertrand, were for the most part the offspring of calumny.

It may not be amiss, while on this topic, to draw attention to the numerous members of the Order who, at this identical time, were earning for themselves, through the extreme sanctity of their lives, and the rigid austerity which they practised, the high honour of canonisation; an honour which, in those days, marked a life distinguished by a steady and resolute withdrawal from the lax morality of the age. Amongst these beatified personages may be noted Ubaldesca, a sister of the Order who passed her life in the convent of Carraja. Her sanctity was such that miracles had

been frequently attributed to her during her life; and she was especially reputed to have, on one occasion, rivalled that performed by our Lord at the marriage feast at Cana. After her decease, which occurred in 1206, her body performed divers pilgrimages: a common fate for saints, to whose mortal remains the piety of succeeding generations very frequently denies that rest, the acknowledged privilege of the tomb, which is enjoyed without disturbance by the more humble and sinful section of humanity. During the grandmastership of Verdala, the sacred relics of this pious lady were transported to Malta, where they were deposited in the conventual church of St. John, and became an especial object of devotion among the faithful, certain indulgences having been, at Verdala's request, granted by the Pope to all worshippers at her shrine. Here she still remains, and it is to be hoped will be permitted to rest in peace, until the last trump shall once more summon her from her narrow bed.

About the same time, another sister of the Order, named Veronese, started into celebrity from her extraordinary devotion to the services of the Hospital. This lady's beauty was only to be equalled by her piety and chastity, which latter virtue appears to have been always so pre-eminent that, according to the veracious legend which records her life, three young men, who, upon one occasion, dazzled by her charms, forgot the respect due to her sex and profession, were struck dead at her feet; she, however, with that merciful charity, so natural to her sex, caused them, by her prayers, to be restored to life, when it is to be hoped that they became imbued with a due sense of the wickedness of their ways.

And, lest it should be supposed that it was only amongst the ladies of the Order that this devotion and sanctity were to be found, history has also embalmed the names of many members of the rougher sex who, in addition to all the chivalric exercises of their profession, rivalled in their religious zeal the piety even of this fair sisterhood. Conspicuous on the roll were Hugh, head of the commandery of Genoa. Gerard Mecati, whose virtues are recorded by Paul Mimi, in his treatise on the nobilities of Florence; and Gerland of Poland, who was attached to the court of the Emperor Frederic, in the interests of his Order, where he set an edifying example to the dissolute courtiers of that prince, such as completely established his own reputation for sanctity, without, however, it is to be feared, having worked any striking reformation amongst the gay libertines by whom he was surrounded; and who were quite content to venerate him without being in any way tempted to follow his example.

It is difficult to conceive that whilst such shining lights as these were constantly emanating from the bosom of the society, and considered themselves privileged in dwelling within the circle of its influence, there could be anything radically amiss in its constitution. That most of the accusations brought against them were engendered by the malicious jealousy of their opponents appears to be the most rational solution of the question, and we are justified in still considering the Order of St. John at this period, even whilst we admit a serious deviation from the earnest and simple devotion of its founder, to have been a pattern for the age, and an admirable school, in which the youthful devotees of Europe were enabled to find

a free vent for the religious enthusiasm with which they were fired, without the necessity of placing any curb upon their martial ardour, at the same time that they beheld, amidst their leading dignitaries, a most praiseworthy example for their pious emulation.

CHAP. VI.

REOCCUPATION OF JERUSALEM BY THE CHRISTIANS.—THEIR EXPULSION BY THE KORASMINS. — BATTLE OF GAZA. — DEATH OF VILLEBRIDE AND ELECTION OF CHATEAUNEUF. — REFORMS IN THE ORDER. — CRUSADES OF ST. LOUIS. — SANGUINARY COMBAT BETWEEN THE HOSPITALLERS AND TEMPLARS. — SIEGE OF MARGAT. — SIEGE AND FALL OF ACRE.

Bertrand de Texis, whose election in 1230 was notified in the preceding chapter, died in the following year; and of the career of his successor, Guerin or Guarin, nothing is known worthy of record, the very date of his decease being doubtful. It is, however, in most chronologies placed in the year 1236, when Bertrand de Comps was elected to the post of sixteenth Master, which office he retained till the year 1241.

In addition to the Pope's attack on the discipline and morals of the Order with which the reader is already acquainted, Bertrand witnessed the third reoccupation of Jerusalem by the Latins. Their brief tenure of this city, after the treaty of Frederic with the sultan of Egypt had been arranged, was brought to a speedy close by the latter potentate, who, on the expiration of that treaty, rejected all attempts at a renewal of its provisions, and drove the defenceless and helpless Christians out of the place. In 1240, however, Richard of Cornwall, brother to Henry III., king of England, made his appearance at Acre, accompanied by a strong body

of English Crusaders; a council, which was held at Spoletto in 1234, having decreed that another vigorous effort should be made to rescue the sacred province from Infidel domination. Divers causes had interfered to prevent the earlier arrival of this armament, but on its debarkation at Acre the earl was surprised at learning that the Count of Champagne, who had preceded him with the French Croisés, had, after being worsted in action by the sultan of Damascus, concluded a treaty so disadvantageous to the Christian cause, that none of their leaders, with the exception of the Templars, consented to accept its provisions.

Upon the arrival of Richard at the scene of action, he prepared at once to take the field, and from the energy of his character, and the force which he had at his command, the most sanguine hopes were entertained of his success. The sultan of Egypt, in whose possession the sacred city and its environs still remained, and who was at this time embarked in a war against the sultan of Damascus, felt that the time was most inopportune for resisting the demands of the new comers; he, therefore, without waiting for any aggressive movements on the part of Richard, offered to him a treaty by which he bound himself to restore to the Christians the cities of Jerusalem, Beritus, Nazareth, and Bethlehem, as well as Mount Thabor, and nearly all the remainder of the Holy Land. This treaty was accepted by Richard, with the approbation and by the advice of the dignitaries of the kingdom, including the Hospitallers, and its provisions were at once carried into effect; the cities mentioned being given over to the Latins, and immediately reoccupied by them. Upon this occasion there were no restrictions imposed as to the fortifying of the city, and

as it was felt that it was impossible the place could be held in security without the adoption of prompt measures, the most strenuous exertions were on all sides made to place the city in a defensible state. For this purpose the coffers of the Hospital were drained to their last farthing, and the power of the Order strained to the uttermost to further the great work.

The Templars, however, indignant that their previous treaty with the sultan of Damascus should have been repudiated by the Hospitallers, in their turn now refused to associate themselves in the treaty of the latter with the sultan of Egypt; and thus the absurd and fatal anomaly was to be witnessed of the two Orders remaining each at war with a prince with whom the other was in close alliance. To this unfortunate division much of the fatal result of their next campaign is to be attributed, a result which Bertrand de Comps was not doomed to witness, he having in 1241 died of the wounds which he received in an action against the Turkomans, who had made an irruption into the territories of the prince of Antioch, and whose complete rout cast a halo of glory over the chivalric end of the gallant and aged Master.

The short rule of his successor, Peter de Villebride, was marked by events most disastrous to the fortunes of the kingdom and of the Order, at whose head the unanimous voice of the fraternity had placed him. A savage horde, who dwelt near the shores of the Caspian Sea, known by the name of Korasmins, having been driven from their own wild fastnesses by the Mogul Tartars, poured over the neighbouring countries with the resistless impetuosity of a flood. The leader of this torrent of barbarians was Barbacan, a gene-

ral whose skill in war and intelligence in the art of government were such as to raise him in the scale of civilisation far above his wild followers. The sultan of Egypt, naturally fearful of the inroads of this rapacious swarm, and dreading lest they should turn their steps in the direction of his territories, endeavoured to divert the impetuosity of the current into another channel; and with a selfishness which the circumstances of the case rendered pardonable, he determined on sacrificing his weaker neighbours to the safety of his own kingdom. With this view he suggested to Barbacan that he would find but little difficulty in seizing upon the Latin possessions in Syria, and in order still further to induce him to turn his steps in that direction, he offered to assist him with a subsidiary force in the undertaking. This proposition was not of a character likely to meet with much opposition on the part of a man in the position of Barbacan, who, expelled from his own mountain home, had the wide world before him, and to whom it was perfectly immaterial whether his foe were Christian or Moslem, provided always that they were weaker than himself, and the prospect of booty sufficiently tempting to render the enterprise lucrative.

On, therefore, came the new foe, overrunning and ravaging the unfortunate province, which had but just returned to the domination of the Latins, and which was still suffering most severely from the effects of the constant and desperate struggles which it had been doomed to witness. Every effort, which the brief space of time permitted, had been made by the Hospitallers to place the sacred city once more in a defensible position; and, had a longer warning been vouchsafed to them, they would doubtless have succeeded in making such

an obstinate defence, that the undisciplined bands of the Korasmins would have shattered themselves in vain against the ramparts. As it was, however, only a few feeble earthworks had as yet risen; and, behind these, the military Orders felt that it would be madness to attempt a stand. They therefore determined, though not without much sad and painful deliberation, once more to abandon to the unhallowed tread of the Infidel that consecrated soil, the centre of so many aspirations, and alas! the grave of so many hopes. Many of the inhabitants, however, lately established in their new homes, blinded by the fury of their zeal, and burning to prevent a renewed desecration of their Saviour's tomb, persisted in remaining behind, and in opposing to the death the onward course of the invaders. Others followed in the track of the military Orders, who, after evacuating the city, had pitched their camp sufficiently near to watch the course of events.

As may readily be imagined, the Korasmins found an easy prey in the fanatical mob of undisciplined enthusiasts by whom they were confronted. Hurling themselves in resistless multitudes upon the feeble and unfinished intrenchments, they carried them at a single dash; and, pouring into the city, renewed once more those scenes of carnage and sacrilege which had been before enacted on the self-same spot. It is needless to pause on the painful picture: when savage and unbridled lust is let loose upon a defenceless multitude, the result may be easily conceived, and, in the present instance, the horrors perpetrated fully equalled anything which the most vivid imagination could dare to portray. Truly the curse which had been brought upon the city of Zion, by the murder of its God, was

even yet reaping its bitter fruit; nor could the torrents of blood which had so often converted its streets into shambles, wash away the awful denunciation which that fell Deicide had provoked.

With a cunning, equalled only by their ferocity, these barbarians, so soon as they had established themselves securely within the heart of the city, raised once more upon its ramparts the standard of the Holy Cross. Deceived by the sight of this emblem of their religion, and imagining from its appearance that the enemy must have been worsted in their assault, many fugitive Christians, who had accompanied the Hospitallers in their retreat, determined, despite the earnest warnings of these latter, once more to return to their homes; where, entrapped by the ruthless foe, they were speedily doomed to share the miserable fate of their comrades. Meanwhile, the Templars having discovered that a detachment of Egyptians were acting in unison with the Korasmins, called upon their ally, the sultan of Damascus, to aid them in repelling his old antagonist. In reply to this summons, a body of four thousand Damascene horsemen were despatched by the sultan, who joined themselves to the military Orders, and to such of the secular militia as could at the pressure of the moment be gathered together.

With this reinforcement the Christian army stood its ground; and determined upon watching the course which the victorious Korasmins might take. These latter did not leave them long in suspense. Satiated with slaughter, and wearied with inactivity, after a few days spent amidst the wildest revels and the vilest debauchery, within the now desolate city, they advanced in a tumultuous horde, flushed with victory, and eager

for the fray, to overwhelm the handful of Latins by whom they were opposed. In this conjuncture, the councils of the Christians were much divided: the chiefs of the military Orders advised a prompt retreat; feeling that, owing to the enormous disproportion in their numbers, the chances of a combat must be most unequal, and consequently desperately hazardous. As, however, upon the occasion of the expedition into Egypt, the presumption of one churchman, the legate Pelagius, had caused the miscarriage of the operation, so now, by the precipitation of another, the patriarch of Jerusalem, whose rash advice overcame the prudent scruples of the other leaders, it was decided that they should stand their ground, and await the issue of a general engagement. It is one of the most curious phenomena of the early ages, that ecclesiastics were always to be found intermingling themselves even in the most secular matters, where they could hardly be supposed to have had any concern; nay, often, as in the present case, vehemently obtruding their own opinions in questions of a purely military character, in contemptuous opposition to those of the most experienced captains of the age.

On this occasion, the result could not long remain doubtful; and the valour of Christian chivalry, though strained to the utmost, expended itself in vain against the countless swarms opposed to them. The Latin army, when drawn up in its battle array, was divided into three corps. The Hospitallers, supported by the Count of Jaffa, constituted the left wing; the Templars, and the militia of the kingdom, were in the centre; and the auxiliary force of Turkoman cavalry formed the right wing. Upon this eventful occasion, all those jealousies

which had for so long a time divided the military Orders, and in a great degree neutralised every effort for the restoration of the kingdom, were extinguished in their zeal for the common cause; and the blood of both Hospitaller and Templar flowed freely in one united stream, a worthy sacrifice to their country's weal. For two whole days the struggle lasted with undiminished energy; although, at its very commencement, the Damascenes, either from treachery or cowardice, turned their backs upon the foe, and fled ignominiously from the field. Their defection left the Korasmins in a numerical superiority of at least ten to one; still the Christians held their ground undismayed, and the scale of victory for some time appeared equally balanced. It was not, however, within the powers of human endurance to bear up against the interminable bodies of new foes, unceasingly poured upon their exhausted ranks by the indefatigable Barbacan. At length, upon the evening of the second day, the sun set in fiery gloom upon the melancholy spectacle afforded by the utter destruction of the Christian force, which, decimated and overpowered by numbers, was compelled to yield through pure exhaustion.

Signal as was their defeat, it was unaccompanied by disgrace. Still struggling, though all was lost, the shattered remnants of the army refused either to turn or to yield, and there on the very ground where they stood, now strewn with the mangled and gory corpses of their comrades, they one by one fell, faithful even to the end in that holy cause which they had espoused, and to which their lives and their fortunes had been consecrated. In this fatal field the Masters of both Temple and Hospital found a noble grave, in company

with almost the entire body of their respective Orders; only sixteen of the latter, and thirty-three of the former, surviving the indiscriminate slaughter which marked the close of the struggle. With this disastrous fight ended all hopes of resisting the victorious advance of the Korasmins; the slender relics of the Christian force sought the shelter of the walls of Acre, where William de Chateauneuf was raised to the post of Master, vacant by the death of Peter de Villebride on the field of Gaza. Prior to his elevation, he had been a Preceptor in the Order, and it was a letter from his pen, recording the fatal issue of that battle, from which most of the details of the campaign have been preserved on the page of history.

Chateauneuf found himself presiding over the interests of his fraternity at a period when they had been plunged into a state of confusion and distress even greater than had ever before been their lot. Within the limits of the Holy Land there only remained a few feeble and wounded brothers, who, from the heights of the ramparts of Acre, beheld with grief and indignation the ravage of that sacred soil which they were no longer in a position to defend. Spread like so many locusts over the province, the Korasmins destroyed far and wide everything which fell within their grasp; and wherever they turned their steps a heart-rending wail of distress and misery arose upon their fell track, which, like that of the Destroying Angel, showed the dark traces of their blasting power. Had they remained united amongst themselves, it is certain that they must speedily have achieved the destruction of the Christians; and there is every probability that they could have even established themselves in secure and permanent empire

on the wrecks of the two Saracen kingdoms of Egypt and Damascus. Most providentially, however, for the waning prospects of Christianity, the seeds of jealousy and mutual animosity speedily sprang up amongst themselves, commencing in trivial quarrels and unimportant skirmishes, but gradually increasing in virulence and intensity, until, eventually, they had so far enfeebled their power as to cease from being any longer an object of dread to the surrounding potentates. Hemmed in on all sides by inveterate, and now openly declared foes, and harassed by the peasantry of the district, whose bitter hatred they had incurred through the licentious and savage brutality of their conduct, they gradually diminished in numbers until, ere long, no trace remained of a power which had so lately been the terror of the East.

Freed from the imminent peril which had at one time threatened to annihilate them, Chateauneuf took the most energetic measures to recruit the ranks of his fraternity and to restore some semblance of credit to its exhausted treasury. Every preceptory in Europe was drained of its members, even novices being included in the conscription, and vast sums of money were also remitted from the same sources, so that with the revivifying power peculiar to the institution, we find it ere long once again flourishing with as stately a grandeur as of old, and still remaining, in conjunction with the Templars, the principal, nay almost the only, support of the kingdom.

Until this time, in order to prevent a Knight from yielding himself a prisoner to the foe, it had been esteemed a fundamental doctrine, that no member so situated should on any account be ransomed from the

public coffers: now, however, when their numbers had become so suddenly and fearfully diminished, it was deemed advisable for the public weal to depart, for once, from a rigid adherence to this regulation; and Chateauneuf despatched an embassy to the sultan of Egypt, in whose hands the prisoners captured by Barbacan at the battle of Gaza had been placed, with instructions to request their ransom, for which purpose a sufficient sum had been placed in their hands. The sultan, however, who was far-sighted enough to perceive, that in so far as it was the interest of the Hospitallers to ransom their brethren it must naturally be his policy to oppose such a consummation, refused in terms of the most ignominious opprobrium to accede to the request, quoting to the ambassadors, in support of his decision, the regulation of their own Order, forbidding any such transfer. The unfortunate captives were consequently compelled still to remain in durance vile, whilst the ambassadors returned to Acre after a bootless errand, in which much money had been uselessly wasted in bribery to the officers of the court, only to receive in the end a mortifying rebuff from the sultan. This refusal on his part has been very generally attributed to a close alliance which is supposed to have existed between himself and the emperor of Germany, whose persevering antipathy to the military Orders has been already touched upon.

Whilst thus restoring the fortunes of the institution, and re-establishing its power after the rude shock it had so lately received, Chateauneuf was not unmindful of interior discipline; and we may gather from several analogous circumstances, that at this period the most rigid austerity was enforced. In support of

this statement, we find a special licence issuing from the Pope, by which permission is given to the brothers to enter into conversation with any secular guest who may chance to be present at their refectory; otherwise they are enjoined to preserve a strict silence during the hour of meal: we also find it recorded by Joinville, the historian of the Crusade of St. Louis, that a dispute having sprung up between the Hospitallers and some French Knights who had accompanied that expedition, in which Chateauneuf considered the former to be in the wrong, that Master condemned the offending brothers to eat their meals upon the ground, instead of at the common table of the refectory, and they were expressly forbidden to drive away any dog or other animal who might choose to intrude upon their platters during the operation; nor was this discipline in any way relaxed until after the most urgent entreaties on the part of Joinville himself, on the occasion of a visit which he paid to their convent.

The Crusade of St. Louis of France was the offspring of the disaster of Gaza, and the consequent loss of the principal cities of the Holy Land. That monarch, of whom history has recorded every virtue which could adorn a hero, and whose piety was destined to earn for him the posthumous honours of canonisation, burning with an ardent and impetuous desire to achieve that which so many of his predecessors had in vain attempted, and who, whilst on a bed of sickness, had pledged himself to the undertaking even before he had heard the news of the fatal day of Gaza, now decided upon leading in person the chivalry of France to the rescue of their religion in the East. Accompanied by his three brothers, the Counts of Artois, Poictiers, and Anjou, and followed

by an army of 50,000 well-appointed troops, he landed at Damietta in the summer of 1249, having spent the previous winter at Cyprus. A very slight resistance was offered to his landing, and at the close of the short struggle he found himself master not only of the shore, but also of the city itself, with its powerful fortress, whose garrison, struck with panic at the bold and daring advance of the French chivalry, and mindful of the scenes which had been enacted on the same spot on the occasion of its previous capture by John of Brienne, had abandoned the citadel and taken to flight, leaving the occupation of the town open to the French.

Whilst at Damietta, Louis was joined by the whole strength of the military Orders, led by their respective chiefs in person, and also by a small body of 200 English lances under the command of William Longspee, who had already served with distinction in the previous Crusade of the Earl of Cornwall. An advance towards Cairo having been decided on, the army proceeded without interruption as far as Massoura, a fortified town situated near the confluence of the two branches of the Nile. Here they found the entire Egyptian force awaiting their arrival, within an intrenched camp on the far side of the river. For some time all the efforts which they made to achieve the passage, by means of a temporary bridge, were rendered futile through the opposition which the Egyptians brought to bear upon them. At length, however, a Bedouin Arab, tempted by the prospect of a large bribe, offered to conduct them to a practicable ford, through which the opposite bank might be readily gained. The king directed his brother, the Count of Artois, to cross the ford at the head of a chosen body of troops, consisting of the military Orders

and the English Knights under William Longspee. The Arab was found faithful to his trust; the ford was attained, the river passed, and the enemy, who had vainly endeavoured to oppose the operation, driven from the field. At this point a most unaccountable panic appears to have overwhelmed the Saracens: abandoning their intrenchments, under the idea that the whole French army was upon them, and even deserting Massoura in their terror, they fled in every direction, leaving the Count of Artois in undisputed possession of both camp and city. Had matters ended here, and had cool counsels been allowed to prevail, all would have been well; but it was the fate in every expedition which we have had to record, that some rash and hot-headed zealot was invariably permitted to overbear the more prudent advice of those who, from their position and long acquaintance with the warfare of Palestine, were best qualified to direct operations. The Count of Artois, rejecting with scorn and contumely the prudent advice tendered to him by Sonnac, the Grand Master of the Temple, supported though it was by Longspee and the other leaders, determined to push his advantage to the utmost, and heedless of the paucity of his numbers, dashed in hot pursuit after the retreating foe. These latter soon perceived the absurdity of their panic, and the numerical inferiority of the Christians: rallying rapidly at the call of Bendocdar, a valiant Mamelouk chief who had assumed the command after the fall of Sacadeen; killed in the previous engagement, they turned fiercely on the foe, and drove them in the utmost confusion back into Massoura. Here they found matters much changed from the time when the city, abandoned by its defenders, had first fallen into their hands. The

inhabitants, perceiving them hard pressed by the Moslem without, and almost insignificant in their numbers, commenced to harass them within the walls of the place by carrying on a street warfare of so irregular a nature, that the superior discipline of the Knights gave them little or no advantage in the struggle. In this combat, the whole detachment was annihilated. The Count of Artois, Longspee, and a host of other Knights were slain, whilst the Hospitaller Chateauneuf fell a prisoner into the hands of the Saracens.

Louis beheld with the most lively grief and indignation this unfortunate issue to a combat commenced under such glorious auspices; and, crossing the ford with the remainder of his army, he advanced rapidly to the rescue. Here he was met by the Saracens, led on by Bendocdar, now completely rallied from their panic, flushed with their late success, and burning to wipe out the remembrance of their recent flight in Christian blood. The combat was long and obstinate, and at its close victory had not decided itself for either party, both equally claiming the advantage. Whatever the physical results of the day itself may have been, its moral results were most clearly in favour of the Infidel; hemmed in on the ground which he occupied, and cut off from all supplies on the side of Damietta by a Saracen force despatched by Bendocdar for that purpose, it was not long ere Louis found his army in a very similar predicament to that of John of Brienne. Pestilence of a most virulent and loathsome nature broke out in the midst of his camp, which rapidly became converted into one vast grave. Unable to retreat so long as a Saracen force interposed between himself and Damietta, Louis in this strait meditated a sudden attack in that quarter, trust-

ing that, by taking the Infidel unawares, he and his enfeebled army might be enabled to cut their way through. Before, however, he could carry this intention into effect, he was himself attacked in his intrenchments by the whole Turkish army. Wasted with disease, and prostrate from starvation, his troops were enabled to make but a slender resistance; nor was the chivalric daring which on that day distinguished his own conduct able to avert the impending catastrophe. Rejecting all advice to seek that safety in flight which might have been his, could he have brought himself to abandon his followers, he continued to struggle gallantly to the last; when, in company with the Counts of Anjou and of Poictiers, he fell a prisoner into the hands of Bendocdar.

That chief behaved towards his illustrious captives with a magnanimity and generosity rare in the annals of Moslem warfare, and treated them with the utmost consideration and respect. A treaty of peace was immediately set on foot, the terms of which could require but little dispute where one of the negociating parties found himself in such a helpless condition. In return for the ransom of himself and his army, Louis covenanted to pay the sum of 800,000 bezants; and to restore to the Saracens possession of Damietta. In order to provide the stipulated amount, the Hospitallers freely placed their coffers at the king's disposal; but the Templars, ever greedy and avaricious, unwilling to part with their hoards, brought forward the rules of their Order as opposed to such an appropriation. Necessity, however, knows no law, and the king, disgusted with their ill-timed avarice, felt that the conjuncture was of too grave a character to admit of much delicacy on his part. He lost no time, therefore, in making a forcible acquisition of

their treasure to complete the sum demanded for his liberation. As soon as the terms of the treaty had been complied with on both sides, Louis and the relics of his army returned to Acre, utterly unable to attempt anything further for the good cause; and there he was induced to remain during the space of four years, partly owing to the entreaties of the military Orders, who considered his presence as a great safeguard for the precarious remnant of the kingdom, and partly from his own unwillingness to return to France whilst labouring under the disgrace of a reverse.

During his residence at Acre, he received a message from the chief of the Hassassins, demanding the payment of black mail as protection from assassination, and averring that all the other Christian monarchs who had warred in the East had subscribed to the custom, and purchased their safety by the payment of the toll. Chateauneuf no sooner heard of this audacious demand, than he instantly dismissed the ambassadors, with the assurance, that if the Old Man of the Mountain did not within fifteen days make ample reparation for his insolence to the monarch, he should receive a visit from the whole force of the Order, on which occasion he might rest assured that summary chastisement would be inflicted. Within the stipulated time the ambassadors made their appearance with the required amende: a ring and a shirt being tendered to Louis on the part of their chief; the former symbol typifying that he would encircle him with his protection, and the latter that he would cling to him with attachment.

Louis left the Holy Land in 1254, and the next few years were spent by the military friars in securing themselves within those posts which they still retained.

During this lull in the political storm, the feuds which had so long existed between themselves and the Templars, but which the urgency of their mutual peril had temporarily quelled, now broke forth with renewed virulence. Commencing in single combats, or in small detached parties, they rarely met without a struggle; and as the flow of blood on either side embittered the warfare, they gradually came to attack one another in considerable bodies, until at length, in the year 1259, the whole force of the fraternities met in a general engagement. Victory favoured the side of the Hospitallers, and the carnage was so fearful that scarce a Templar was left to survive the day so fatal to his Order. It was long ere they were enabled to rally from this fratricidal blow, and by the time that their ranks had been sufficiently recruited to empower them once more to show front against their rivals, the renewal of hostilities against their common foe overcame the bitterness of civil discord.

Shortly after this sanguinary contest, William de Chateauneuf breathed his last, in the month of October 1259; and Hugh de Revel was nominated his successor. This Knight, the nineteenth Master of the Order, was the first who received from Pope Clement IV. the rank of Grand-Master, by which title the head of the fraternity was always afterwards known. The bull, by which this title was first conferred, was dated 18th November 1267.

Under the auspices of this Grand-Master, some vital changes were made in the constitution of the Order as regarded its European property. The various preceptories had been in the habit of remitting the surplus of their revenues, after deducting what was necessary for their own subsistence, to the general treasury in

Palestine. As, however, in many cases, sometimes owing to the mismanagement of the administrators, and sometimes from causes over which they had no control, the balance destined for remittance to the East was not forthcoming; and as, in order to support the enormous expenditure of a perpetual war, it was necessary that a positive and considerable sum should be relied on from their European possessions, it was decided, in a general council held at Cesarea, that a definite payment should be allotted to each preceptory, based on the receipts of a term of years, which they should be bound to remit to the convent under all circumstances; the balance of the revenue being retained for their own expenditure. This annual payment, which partook very much of the nature of a rent-charge, was termed a responsion, and was usually fixed at one-third of the gross receipts. The commission which was sent to each preceptor, to announce the changes proposed to be introduced, commenced with the Latin word *Çommandamus*, whence arose the word commander, by which title the preceptor became eventually known. Priories were at the same time established, embracing several of these preceptories, at the head of which were placed priors, who were to have supreme control over all the establishments in their several districts, and who were to collect and remit the responsions due from them. The prior was to maintain a strict surveillance over his preceptories, and to act as a salutary check over the malpractices and extravagances of the preceptors, whose properties he was bound constantly to visit, and to ascertain, by personal observation, that due economy and discipline were practised.

Whilst thus organising the internal discipline of his

Order, Hugh de Revel was at the same time making the most strenuous exertions to maintain a bold front against the perpetual aggressions of his relentless foe; though, feeble as were his means of defence, and overwhelming the power against which he was called to contend, it is not surprising that each year witnessed some new calamity. In 1263, the sultan succeeded in gaining possession of the fortress of Azotus, in which ninety Knights of the Hospital had been placed by Revel to conduct the defence at the head of the garrison. One by one these brave men fell under the ruthless scimitar of the Moslem; and it was not until the last of their number had received his death wound on the blood-stained ramparts, that Bendocdar succeeded in entering the town. The glorious and obstinate defence of this place adds yet another name to that long list which the deeds of the Hospitallers in the Holy Land had caused to be enrolled in imperishable characters upon the annals of history; for never had that spirit of devotion, which they invariably displayed to the sacred cause they had espoused, shone forth with a brighter lustre than during this glorious though fatal struggle.

In the following year the Templars were, in their turn, compelled to yield the fortress of Saphoura, and these losses were speedily followed by others of still greater consequence. Antioch, Laodicea and Karac passed for ever from the Christian rule, and Acre itself was only for a brief period preserved by a report of an anticipated succour from the king of Cyprus; which induced Bendocdar, who dreaded another Crusade, to retrace his steps.

The second Crusade of Louis, in which he met his

death from the pestilence which annihilated his army, brought no relief to the suffering Latins of Syria, that expedition having been diverted into Africa, where it rapidly melted away in the pestilential swamps of Tunis. The efforts made in 1271, by Prince Edward of England, though conducted with energy, were equally fruitless, owing to the insufficiency of the force by which he was supported, and after having narrowly escaped death from the dagger of one of the band of Hassassins,* that prince returned to Europe, leaving the prospects of the Christians in Syria utterly hopeless, although he had, more through the terror of his name and lineage, than from any other cause (the reputation of his ancestor, Richard Cœur de Lion, being still a household word throughout the Saracen provinces of the East), obtained a truce for ten years, during which period, a short breathing time was permitted to the

* It is a painful duty when the historian is called upon to dispel the romance which the poetry of our forefathers has interwoven with the narration of facts. The story of the devotion of the princess Eleanor, who is said to have sucked the poisoned wound of her husband, bears with it a moral so useful to the fair sex in all ages, that it appears somewhat ungracious to refuse credence to so touching an episode. There is, however, too much reason to fear that this sweet tale of feminine devotion had its origin in the fertile brain of some monkish chronicler, and that Edward owed his cure to remedies which, whilst they were far less romantic, were probably more potent. Immediately after the receipt of his wound, and whilst the result appeared likely to prove fatal, Edward made his will. It was dated at Acre, June 18th, 1272; and the subscribing witnesses were Hugh de Revel, Grand-Master of the Hospital, and Thomas Berard, Grand-Master of the Temple. "En testimoniaunce de la queu chose, a ceo testament avons fet mettre nostre sel, et avons pries les honurables Bers frere Hue, Mestre de l'Hospital, et frere Thomas Berard, Mestre du Temple, ke a cest escrit meisent aussi lur seus."—*Acta Rymeri*, tom. i. ad ann. 1272.

harassed and dispirited Latins. During this peaceful lull, Hugh de Revel was called to his fathers, in the year 1278, and in his stead Nicholas de Lorgue was entrusted with the baton of Grand-Master.

The death of Bendocdar, in 1281, caused the treaty which he had made with Prince Edward to be brought to a premature close, and the atabal of the Infidel once more aroused the military friars from their brief repose. The commencement of the new war was signalised by an important success on the part of the Christians. One of the Moslem commanders, whilst on a plundering expedition, unwarily conducted his forces within reach of the fortress of Margat, still an important stronghold of the Hospitallers. The Knights who constituted its garrison sallied boldly forth, and encountering the enemy whilst they were encumbered with pillage, and consequently in a state of disorder, easily routed them, and annihilated the whole body. During the following year the sultan, enraged at this disaster, despatched an army of 5000 men to the attack of Margat, determined to wreak a bitter revenge on the authors of the previous reverse. Undismayed at the numbers of their opponents, the Hospitallers, who felt that they were too few in number to meet the foe in open combat, determined to have recourse to stratagem; in furtherance of this object, they posted a portion of their force in ambush, without the gates of the city, and the remainder advanced towards the enemy, as though determined to give battle. After a brief struggle, and almost at the first onset, they pretended to yield, and fled towards the town, as though struck with a sudden panic; preserving, however, their ranks with a precision which should have led the Saracen to suspect that some wile

lurked beneath so easy a victory. Heedless, however, of any such tokens, the Moslem, hurried away by the ardour of pursuit, dashed after the retiring foe with all the disorder of a rapid advance, and the confidence of a victory already gained. The scene, however, was soon destined to change ; once led into the defile, where the ambuscade was placed, the flying Hospitallers halted in their career, and turned fiercely upon the foe ; and whilst the Saracens were preparing for this sudden and unlooked-for attack on the part of those whom they had, as they conceived, been driving before them like chaff, the din and tumult of strife were simultaneously heard on their flanks, and in their rear. Thrown into the wildest and most hopeless confusion by this sudden appearance of enemies on every side, little or no resistance was offered; the struggle speedily became a carnage, and the battle field a heap of mangled corpses, so that of the whole force but a very slender remnant survived, to convey to the sultan of Egypt the news of this fresh and still more serious disaster to his arms.

Aroused to a pitch almost of frenzy at the double defeat which he had sustained, the sultan vowed a deep and bitter revenge against the Christians, nor did he permit his purpose to swerve, although for some years the internal affairs of his own kingdom interfered to prevent his carrying it into execution. At length, however, snatching an interval of leisure, he himself advanced against Margat, at the head of a formidable army, in the year 1287. Aware of his intention, De Lorgue had thrown a considerable reinforcement into the place, the garrison of which calmly awaited the onset. The sultan, on arriving in front of the walls, commenced the siege in due form. The place was in-

vested, trenches were dug, battering rams, towers, and other engines constructed, and all the usual routine of a siege in those days strictly adhered to. On the part of the garrison every possible impediment was thrown in the way of the besiegers, and their constant and energetic sorties created so many obstructions, that the sultan appeared to gain little or no advantage over the place.

Whilst, however, this open warfare was being carried on, so much in favour of the besieged, a secret and insidious foe was at work, by which their speedy downfall was doomed to be compassed. The attack on the fortress through the ordinary method of siege operations was but a blind on the part of the sultan, who, whilst attracting the attention of the garrison in this manner, had secretly caused its ramparts to be undermined in every direction, supporting the tottering walls with huge beams of wood. Having completely accomplished this design, he summoned the garrison to surrender; a message which was received with shouts of scorn by men who conceived that they had foiled his worst attempts. What was their dismay and consternation on being informed that those boasted walls, behind which they deemed themselves so secure, awaited but a signal to crumble beneath their feet? Two of their number were despatched to ascertain the correctness of the statement; and these having received ocular demonstration of the fact, it was felt that further resistance was hopeless, and the town was surrendered to the sultan, the garrison being permitted to evacuate it, and retire to Acre. Immediately on obtaining possession of this fortress, which had during so many years held them at defiance, the Saracens razed its defences to the

ground, and thus for ever prevented its re-occupation by the Christians.

The last sad scene of this bloody drama was now rapidly approaching, for place after place fell into the victorious hands of the Sultan, until at length throughout the land the banner of the Cross waved nowhere save on the walls of Acre only. Nicholas de Lorgue was not, however, destined to witness the fatal denouement of the sad tragedy then enacting. Having visited the Holy See for the purpose of making a personal appeal to the Pope on behalf of the waning Church of Syria, and having utterly failed in the attempt—for in truth Europe was weary of sending her best soldiers, and her hardly-earned treasures, to be fruitlessly wasted upon the burning sands of Palestine—he returned in despair to Acre, where he breathed his last in 1289.

John de Villiers, a French Knight, was elected in his place, the fraternity feeling that in the perilous and desperate situation in which they were placed, it was absolutely necessary that their fortunes should be entrusted to the guidance of one whose mind was calm and far-seeing in the midst of danger, and the intrepidity of whose character was beyond the shadow of a doubt. These qualifications being eminently possessed by Villiers, no dissentient voice was raised against his advancement to a post which was in truth rather one of peril and honour, than of personal advantage.

After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the city of Acre became the metropolis of Christianity in the East; and its favourable situation on the sea-coast rendered it the mart of that vast commerce which annually flowed, both eastward and westward, in the mutual exchange of the treasures of Europe and Asia.

The fortifications consisted of a double rampart, by which the city was begirt and entirely enclosed on the land side: numerous flanking towers, placed in such close proximity that they effectually supported each other, strengthened this enceinte, the walls of which were so broad, that two chariots could with facility pass abreast on their summit. The fortifications had been strengthened by the accumulated additions of ages; each of the most celebrated amongst the Crusaders, who had at different periods resided within its walls, having added somewhat to the defences. St. Louis of France, in particular, had incurred considerable outlay in his desire to strengthen, as far as possible, this last and most important stronghold which the Christians possessed in the East.

The magnificence of the town itself has been a fertile subject for the descriptive talents of historians. The streets were wide and regular, the squares spacious, the public buildings imposing and grand, and the houses, which were all built either of marble, or the finest cut stone, were constructed of equal heights, and with flat roofs, so that it was easy to pass from end to end of the town, without descending into the streets. They boasted in every quarter of the city of the luxury of glass windows, then still far from common in Europe, and possessed even the yet greater refinement of stained glass in great perfection; an art in which they were far in advance of the nations of the West. Tradition revels in the picture which it draws of the splendour of all connected with this magnificent city. Silken canopies and awnings are said to have been stretched from side to side of the principal streets, for protection from the rays of the midday sun, shedding a rich and subdued

light on all around. The wealth of the world appears to have concentrated itself upon this favoured spot, and to have drawn thither the representatives of almost every nation under the sun.

So vast a congregation of varied ingredients, and such a constant stream of wealth flowing through its precincts, naturally engendered a vicious state of existence, and we find the city, in these its last days, a scene of reckless turbulence and unbridled debauchery. Prostitution, drunkenness, and other vices too odious to be particularised, stalked rampant through its streets, and the gaily-dressed and painted harlot of Acre was celebrated throughout the nations of the East. It was thronged by the inhabitants of no less than seventeen different countries, speaking different languages, governed by different laws, each occupying a separate and distinct portion of the town, having no community of interests with each other, and rendering allegiance to no supreme head; consequently, every species of vice and wickedness flourished unchecked, and the general demoralisation was such, that the city was become a complete sink of iniquity, so much so, that like Sodom of old, the cry of it had gone up unto the Lord, and its doom had been declared.

Many foul acts of wanton outrage having been committed on the Moslems of the neighbourhood, through the brigandage of some of its heterogeneous inhabitants, the Sultan Mansour, who only awaited a plausible excuse to complete the extermination of the Christians in Palestine, demanded instant reparation for these wrongs. The Grand-Masters of the military Orders both urged a prompt compliance with a request which, whilst perfectly reasonable in itself, was backed by the whole

power of Egypt, a power against which recent events had taught them that they were utterly unable to cope; they justly, therefore, dreaded the wrath which the refusal to make reparation would necessarily provoke, and which they felt they had no adequate means of withstanding. Their advice was neglected with scorn, the counsels of prudence were stigmatised as cowardice, an answer of defiance was returned, and ere long the inhabitants learned with dismay that the entire strength of the Egyptian empire was on its way to crush this last stronghold of Christianity.

Mansour did not live to carry out the enterprise himself, having been poisoned by one of his generals whilst on the march to Acre; but his son, Khaled, stimulated by the last words of his father, who had directed that his corpse should not receive the rites of sepulture until after the capture of the city had been accomplished, soon appeared before its walls with an army which the Arabian historians have computed at 160,000 foot, and 60,000 horse. Undismayed by this enormous force, the military Orders, at the first sound of the Infidel atabal, prepared to defend their city to the uttermost, or, following the example of so many of their brethren, to perish in the effort. As the undisputed sovereignty of the seas was still in their possession, they at once removed from the city, and embarked for Cyprus, the whole of the non-combatant portion of the inhabitants, leaving as a garrison a strength of some 12,000 men, in addition to those who were serving under the banners of the Hospital and Temple. Henry II., king of Cyprus, in whose person rested at this time the sovereignty of Jerusalem, on learning the strait to which this solitary remnant of his kingdom was reduced, landed in the city

with a reinforcement of 200 Knights, and 500 men-at-arms, and this was the sole auxiliary force upon which the garrison was enabled to rely as a support in their resistance against the countless hosts by whom they were beleaguered. This was therefore not a moment for ceremony, and in the choice of a commandant, the claims of the king, whose reputation as a soldier was, to say the least, of a very doubtful character, were overlooked in favour of one whose military renown and experience in arms were of a far higher stamp, and William de Beaujeu, Grand-Master of the Temple, was unanimously appointed to the onerous post. One of his first acts was to refuse with scorn the most munificent offers, which were tendered by Khaled, to tempt him to surrender the town; a magnanimity which secured for him the perfect confidence of his garrison, who felt that whatever perils they might be called upon to undergo from the scimitar of the foe, they had nothing to dread from treachery at home.

The siege was pushed by the Infidels with the greatest vigour, and the defence of the Christians was equally obstinate. Closer and closer were drawn the hostile trenches, and day by day saw their battalions encircling the doomed city within a narrower grasp. Fearful was the effusion of blood which marked the contest. Sortie after sortie was made by the Christians, led on by the heroic Beaujeu, in which prodigies of valour proclaimed the desperation with which they combated, and the piles of Saracen dead which lay strewn along the plain marked the fatal track of the Latin squadrons. With such an army, however, as that which fought under the banner of Khaled, the slaughter of a few thousands could have but little effect in enfeebling his attacks or averting his

fell purpose. Closer beneath the walls he pushed his advances, until at length he was enabled to bring his battering-rams into active play, whilst at the same time his miners were busily engaged in undermining the various towers by which the ramparts were flanked. Crash after crash marked the successive downfall of their bulwarks, yet still they struggled on with the most indomitable perseverance, and a courage whose heroism had in it something quite sublime.

At last the Cursed Tower, one of the principal points of defence in the city, shared the common fate, and opened a breach in the most vulnerable part of the ramparts. Henry of Cyprus with his auxiliaries had been stationed at this point, and gallantly maintained the breach against every effort of the Moslem until night intervened to cause a cessation of the struggle; then, however, perceiving that a renewal of the combat on the morrow would render his situation desperate, and in all probability lead to his capture, if not death, he determined on abandoning the post, and secretly regaining the shelter of his ships. Alleging as a reason the necessity for repose which the events of the day had rendered imperative for his force, he yielded the post to some Teutonic Knights, promising faithfully to resume it at daybreak the next morning; instead of which, having hurried on board his fleet, he set sail for Cyprus, under cover of night, and abandoned the heroic remnant of the garrison to their fate. The next morning at daybreak the assault was renewed by the Saracens with greater determination than ever, but the Teutonic Knights, who retained the post thus basely deserted, presented an impassable barrier of steel to their onset. Fiercely throughout the day the combat

raged around the deadly breach, until at length towards evening, overborne by numbers, and exhausted by their now prolonged defence, the Germans gave way, and the foe, with loud shouts of exultation, poured into the place. At this critical moment, when all appeared lost, Villiers, whose enthusiastic zeal always led him where the fight was thickest, comprehending at a glance the peril of the situation, directed his marshal to rush with the Hospitallers to the rescue. On came that fiery phalanx, like a wall of steel, hurling itself with irresistible force against the advancing stream of Moslems, who were pouring through the now defenceless breach. Never was the white cross of the Order displayed in deadlier fray; long and obstinate was the struggle; the one party striving to retain the advantage they had gained, and the other equally strenuous in their efforts once more to drive the foe beyond their walls. At length, the impetuous valour of the warriors of the Cross overcame every obstacle, and the terror-stricken Moslem, still struggling with his foe to the last, was once again hurled backward over the breach, and forced to retire with discomfiture to his intrenchments.

This was the last transient gleam of success which flashed upon the Christian cause. Innumerable fresh battalions were still at the command of Khaled, and these were poured in constant succession by their determined general against the exhausted and enfeebled defenders of the town. Thrice on the following day was the city lost, and as often regained by its dauntless garrison; but on each occasion the impossibility of maintaining the desperate struggle became more and more apparent; and though each noble warrior still brandished his bloody falchion undismayed, and trod

the rampart with a proud determination that the Moslem should cross it only over his lifeless corse, yet it was evidently the energy of desperation, and not of hope; and Beaujeu, with his coadjutors, felt that nothing short of a miracle could rescue the doomed city. Even in this hopeless condition the idea of a surrender never appears to have been mooted. Though it was beyond the power of these soldiers of Christianity to retain their footing in this last stronghold of their faith, still there yet remained to them one duty, which they prepared themselves to perform, and this was to seal their devotion with their blood.

At length dawned the fatal morning when the sacrifice was destined to be consummated, and whose sun was to set upon the complete expulsion of the Latins from Syria. Early in the day the marshal of the Hospitallers, whose noble daring had on more than one occasion been the means of rescuing the city from immediate capture, fell at the head of his Order, while defending a breach which had been made practicable in the ramparts near the gate of St. Anthony. Dismayed at the loss of this gallant soldier, Beaujeu turned to Villiers, and requested him, as a last resource, to attempt a diversion, by sallying out of the town and attacking the enemy's camp, trusting in this manner to obtain breathing time in which to re-fortify the post. In willing obedience to a mandate which accorded well with the fiery ardour of his character, Villiers hastily assembled a troop of White Cross Knights, and issuing from the city by a side gate, made a circuit, so as if possible to fall upon the flank of the foe unperceived. Khaled was, however, too experienced a general to allow himself to be thus taken unawares, and Villiers

found an overwhelming force of cavalry drawn up to receive him. Feeling that his stratagem had failed, and that it would be sheer madness to attempt an attack on the dense and serried ranks in his front, Villiers reluctantly turned rein, with the intention of re-entering the town. Here, however, he learnt that their gallant leader Beaujeu was slain; that the Infidels had established themselves on the breach of St. Anthony; and that all was lost.

Perceiving that under these disastrous circumstances his presence could be of no further avail, and that it now became his duty to rescue such of his Knights as had hitherto escaped the scimitar of the foe, from the massacre which was even at that moment flooding the streets with blood, he drew off towards the shore, with the intention of embarking them on board the galleys which still remained at anchor in the roadstead. This was, after some difficulty, accomplished; the enemy being held in check by the archers, who, posted upon the vessels' decks, kept up an incessant discharge of arrows upon their advancing squadrons; and thus the sad and slender relics of that proud fraternity, who had during so many years erected the white cross of their Order as a bulwark, impassable to the Moslem, turned their backs upon the sacred soil of their adoption.

Broken in spirit, faint with exhaustion, and overpowered by an adverse destiny, they now, after two centuries of incessant warfare, found themselves floating on the wide ocean, a body of homeless wanderers, without an aim in view, or a purpose to accomplish. Sad fate for men, who in their own persons, as well as in those of their predecessors, had achieved so much for Christianity, and had gained such imperishable renown,

—a renown which reflected a still brighter halo from the fatal struggle now brought to such an unfortunate issue. Amidst the despairing shrieks of the captive inhabitants, and the ferocious shouts of exultation from the victorious Moslem, that were borne upon the wings of the wind, and that formed their last adieu to that land which they had loved so well, they turned the prows of their galleys westward, and reluctantly wended their sorrowful way towards the island of Cyprus; leaving nought behind them but one vast blank of desolation and despair.

CHAP. VII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDER IN CYPRUS. — ITS FIRST NAVAL ARMAMENTS. — DEATH OF JOHN DE VILLIERS AND ELECTION OF ODON DE PINS. — HIS MONASTIC SECLUSION. — DISSATISFACTION OF THE ORDER. — DEATH OF ODON DE PINS. — ACCESSION OF WILLIAM DE VILLARET. — EXPEDITION INTO PALESTINE. — PROJECT FOR THE CAPTURE OF RHODES. — PREPARATIONS FOR THAT OPERATION. — DEATH OF WILLIAM DE VILLARET AND ACCESSION OF FULKE DE VILLARET. — CAPTURE OF RHODES. — DESTRUCTION OF THE ORDER OF THE TEMPLE.

THE shattered and enfeebled relics of the unfortunate garrison of Acre found shelter within the island of Cyprus, where Henry of Lusignan, anxious to remove the stain cast upon his name by his dastardly flight from the beleaguered city, welcomed them with open arms. The town of Limisso was accorded to them as a residence; and here the Hospitallers, for the fourth time, re-established their convent; and, after a brief repose, commenced making such arrangements for the re-organisation of their body as the exigencies of the case seemed to require.

An imperative order was at once issued for each grand priory to despatch to Cyprus without delay all the available members who might be residing within its limits; and this injunction was obeyed with so much enthusiasm, that ere the expiration of many months

the attenuated ranks of the fraternity at Limisso once more became augmented into somewhat of their pristine magnitude. Nor was it in numbers only that welcome contributions poured in from Europe; the coffers of every priory was drained to the uttermost for the assistance of the general treasury; so that they were enabled again to open their Hospital, and to recommence the practice of those religious functions which had been so rudely disturbed by the repeated aggressions of the Infidel.

Although the Holy Land had completely passed away from the power of the Christians, the numbers of the pilgrims who annually sought its shores remained unabated; the duty, therefore, once again devolved on the military friars of rendering them such protection and escort on the road as lay within their means. For this purpose, the galleys which had been employed in their conveyance from Acre were again brought into requisition; and the brethren, driven from that sacred soil to whose protection they had so long devoted themselves, adopted a fresh career; and on the new element which they had chosen, soon succeeded in demonstrating to their Saracen foe that the flag of their Order was to be as much dreaded when waving over their galleys, as it had been of yore when borne triumphantly in the van during the constant struggles of the preceding two centuries. To the various ports of Italy and the Adriatic these new fleets wended their way, in the months of March and August; and, collecting the grateful bands of wandering devotees from these several points of embarkation, they escorted them safely to the haven of their wishes; whence, as soon as they had satisfied the cravings of their religious en-

thusiasm, they once more accompanied them home to the land of their fathers.

In these passages they not unfrequently encountered the hostile galleys of the Infidel, which, scenting their prey from afar, like the vulture on the battle field, were always to be found hovering around their would-be victims. They were not long, however, in discovering that their old foe had lost none of his vigour, and was as dauntless in enterprise as they had known him of old; and numerous Turkish prizes, which ere long graced the harbour of Cyprus, were the first promising tokens of that maritime supremacy which was eventually to assert itself over the waters of the Mediterranean. Many of these prizes were very rich, and individual Knights had taken advantage of their position to secure some of that wealth for themselves, which should have found its way into the public treasury. The discipline of the Order had been rudely shaken by the disaster of Acre; and the sudden flush of prosperity which thus beamed upon them in this first commencement of their new career, still further loosened the bonds of due restraint. The very island upon which they had established their convent bore amidst its balmy breezes the seeds of that luxurious voluptuousness which from the earliest ages has been its characteristic; and the Hospitaller, released from the restraint and the privations of a successful cruise, sought to make amends for the toils he had undergone by a period of luxury, if not of dissipation.

Two general chapters were held by order of John de Villiers, in order to check this rising tendency to display and self-gratification. No Knight was for the future to be permitted the possession of more than three horses; and all adornment in his equipments was once more

strictly forbidden. At the same time, stringent regulations were laid down respecting the debts which might be left by a brother at his death; and the mode in which they were to be defrayed. From the fact of such a regulation being required at all, it appears pretty evident that these fast members of the Hospital were not content with spending the proceeds of their successful cruises in a manner little becoming those who had taken the oaths of poverty and chastity; but, in the same way as we notice with the fast men of the present day, they must needs have entailed upon themselves the aristocratic appendage of debts. It was ordained, that in case the household and personal property of the Knight were not sufficient to liquidate his liabilities, they were to be defrayed out of the funds which he had originally consecrated to the Order on his admission; a method of payment which seems likely to have pressed far more severely on the public treasury, than on the peccant individual; and must also have had the effect of encouraging traders and usurers to grant increased facilities for the obtaining of credit, when they felt they had such undeniable security to fall back upon. However, the general stringency of the enactments made by these two chapters had the desired effect of checking the excesses of the turbulent; and something approaching their former state of discipline and good order was once more established.

During the remainder of the rule of John de Villiers, their maritime expeditions continued without intermission, and they gradually curbed the power of the Infidel in this branch of warfare to so great an extent as to render the navigation of the Levant comparatively secure to the commerce of Europe. This was a boon felt and appre-

ciated by every nation; more especially by those who, like the Venetians, owed their position in the scale of nations entirely to the magnitude of their commerce. Whilst the Hospitallers had been engaged in the defence of the Holy Land, their achievements, brilliant as they were, had been of assistance to but comparatively few of the vast population of Europe; and although much religious enthusiasm had been awakened by the numerous tales of heroism and knightly daring which were the constant theme of the troubadour in hall and bower, still little or no permanent impression was left upon the hearers' minds. Now, however, when, in addition to the sacred cause of combating against the Infidel, there was added the more immediate and personal benefit of protection to their commerce, a cry of gratitude and acclaim arose on every side.

The difference between the conduct of the Hospitaller and the Templar was freely discussed, and paved the way for that complete overthrow of the latter Order which was even then hatching in the brain of Philip the Fair. They had both shared the same fate by their expulsion from Syria, and both had equally earned imperishable laurels by their gallant defence of Acre. But from the moment when they had turned their backs upon that scene of strife how different had been their conduct. The Hospitaller, availing himself of the nearest point from which he could still carry on the objects of his Institution, had established himself almost within sight of those shores from which he had been driven. Unable any longer to compete with his foe on the land, he had not hesitated to encounter him on a new element, and those Turkish rovers, who had for so many years been the terror of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean,

were taught to feel that the day had at length arrived when their supremacy should be ended. Instead of the slave marts of Egypt being filled with the captive Christian mariners, from amongst whom they had been accustomed to draw their supply, the tables were completely turned; and the Turkish galley-slave, bending to his oar in one of the numerous vessels of his Christian captors, had ample opportunities for reflection, and for cursing the mischance which had brought these new and invincible foes across his path. The Templar, on the other hand, after a brief sojourn in Cyprus, instead of rendering the smallest assistance to his chivalrous and knightly brethren in their new undertaking, hurried with unseemly haste to his numerous wealthy European preceptories; where the grossness of his licentiousness, the height of his luxury, and the arrogance of his pride, soon rendered him an object of the most invincible hatred amongst those who possessed ample power to accomplish his overthrow. During these last years of their existence little can be said in defence of the Order, and although the barbarous cruelty with which their extinction was accomplished has raised a feeling of compassion in their behalf which bids fair to efface the memory of their crimes, still it cannot be denied that they had of late years so far deviated from the original purposes of their Institution as to render them highly unfit depositaries of that wealth which had been bequeathed to them for purposes so widely different from those to which they had appropriated it.

In the year 1294, having greatly raised his Order in public estimation, John de Villiers breathed his last in his convent home at Cyprus, and his place was filled by Odon de Pins, a knight of Provence. This aged brother

was more celebrated for piety than for military exploits, and in the governance of a fraternity of monks might have proved a most edifying chief; but in the turbulent days amidst which his lot was cast, he was not possessed of a mind that could control, either the fierce spirits under his charge, or the aggressive neighbours by whom he was surrounded. Occupied in the peaceful duties of his convent and hospital, he utterly neglected those other obligations of his post, which were far more congenial to the temperament of his subordinates.

Having lost their all in the abandonment of Acre, his Knights were still burning to recruit their shattered finances by a continuation of those maritime forays which they had so successfully commenced under Villiers. Whilst the galleys of the Infidel, laden with the wealth of the East, were still to be found ploughing their way through the blue waters of the Levant, and requiring but a few dauntless and daring spirits to claim them for their own, it is not surprising that the inertness and monastic seclusion of Odon de Pins rapidly gave rise to murmurings on the part of the more active and restless of his fraternity. Greater and greater became the dissatisfaction as time wore on, and the harbour of Cyprus no longer bore on its bosom those prizes, which, in the time of his predecessor, had so often lain there in triumph. Utterly heedless of the increasing marks of discontent which showed themselves on all sides, Odon continued as regular as ever in his attendance on the religious duties of his profession, and equally negligent of its military obligations. Unable any longer to submit to this compulsory inactivity, the fraternity made a general appeal to the Pope for permission to depose their chief, enumerating the various causes for dissatisfaction

to which they considered his conduct had given rise. The Pope summoned Odon to appear before him at Rome, in order that he might decide in his presence as to the justice of the appeal; and the Grand-Master, like an obedient son of the Church, instantly prepared to obey the mandate, and set forth on his journey. He was not, however, destined ever to enter the presence of his ecclesiastical superior, for having been seized with illness on the road, he gradually sank under his complaint, and eventually death put an end to his troubles, as well as to the disputes and disagreements of which he had been the cause.

His successor was William de Villaret, also a Knight of Provence, who at the time of his election was Grand Prior of St. Gilles, and at the moment residing in his priory. His brother Fulke was also a Knight of St. John, and of great eminence, so much so that he was destined at the death of William to succeed him in the government; his sister Jourdain was the Superior of the convent of Hospitaller ladies in Quercy; so that the family may be considered to have attained the highest possible dignities in the Order to which they were attached. Villaret used no haste in quitting his priory upon receiving the intelligence of his elevation; but, availing himself of the authority with which that appointment invested him, he made a magisterial inspection of all the priories in France, directing the most searching reforms, and eradicating numerous obnoxious abuses. This done, and having paid his Holiness a flying visit en route, he proceeded to Cyprus, to assume the sway which had been delegated into his hands.

One of the earliest and most important acts of his rule was a descent upon Palestine, undertaken by the

Hospitallers, in alliance with Gayan, king of Persia. The accounts of this prince vary considerably; some writers having asserted that he was a Christian, others that he was a Mahometan, whilst there are not wanting those who state he was a Pagan. Be this as it may, he was undoubtedly a bitter enemy to the Saracens, and had entered willingly into an alliance with the king of Cyprus, the Hospitallers, and the king of Armenia, having for its object the expulsion of his antagonists from Palestine, which he desired to see once more in the possession of the Christians, who, he considered, would form an admirable barrier on the frontier of his dominions. The records of this expedition are but few and scanty; so much so, that its actual occurrence has been held highly problematical. Still, there remains sufficient testimony to render it a matter of little doubt, not only that the Christians did actually once more make good their footing in the Holy Land, but that they advanced so far as, and took possession of, the sacred city itself. The policy of the Saracens, however, had rendered this advance of no permanent avail to their foes; they had taken the precaution of destroying the fortifications of every city within the limits of Palestine; the possession of which, therefore, must eventually have remained with that power which could maintain the largest force in the field. Accordingly we find that the Hospitallers, having once more gladdened their eyes with the sight of those holy places, so familiar to their memory, were obliged to retire from the superior force which the Saracens were bringing against them, their ally Gayan having been suddenly called away in the midst of the campaign to quell a rebellion in his own dominions.

Thus driven from Palestine, and yet eager to bestir himself in the interests of his Order, the mind of Villaret gradually became impressed with a desire to obtain for his convent a new and more permanent home than that which had been accorded to them in Cyprus, a home where they should be enabled to consider themselves as lords, and not be merely tolerated as unwelcome guests; the position which they had for some time been doomed to occupy. Various subjects of discord had gradually grown up during their residence at Cyprus between themselves and the king; oppressive taxes and other exactions had been imposed upon them, and, despite the earnest remonstrances of the Pope, their payment had been insisted upon; it was, therefore, but natural that Villaret should desire to change his home to some more hospitable locality, and to seek to obtain for his name a lasting renown, by regaining for his Institution a position of dignity more in accordance with that which hitherto they had been accustomed to occupy.

For this purpose he turned his eyes in the direction of Rhodes, a spot which appeared in every way adapted to the purpose he had at heart. This island had originally formed a dependence of the empire of Constantinople. At the time when that kingdom fell under the power of the Latin Crusaders, it became the prey of the Genoese, in whose possession it remained, until Vatiens, one of the most talented princes of his age, succeeded in expelling the intruders, and restoring it to the empire from which it had been torn. Gradually, however, its governors established themselves as independent princes in the island; and in order to make good their pretensions against the emperor, they opened

their ports for the reception of all the Turkish and Saracen merchants who chose to make it their home; and the corsairs who ravaged the Mediterranean were always sure of a hearty welcome and a safe shelter within its harbours. To repel this noxious swarm, and to destroy their nest, erecting in its place a stronghold of Christianity which should be a terror to the Infidels, seemed to Villaret an object worthy of his ambition, and one whose attainment would secure for him the deepest gratitude from all the powers of Europe.

Impressed with these views, he determined upon making a secret but close reconnaissance of the island; and was preparing for this duty when, in conjunction with the Grand-Master of the Temple, he received a summons to repair to Rome; ostensibly for the purpose of a conference as to the propriety and feasibility of a new Crusade. This, however, was only a subterfuge on the part of the Pope to conceal the ulterior designs he had in view, and of which we shall hear more anon. The Grand-Master of the Templars lost no time in repairing to Rome in accordance with his instructions; but Villaret excused himself from the journey, on the plea of the urgent business in which he was then engaged; indeed, he was at that moment in the act of starting from Cyprus, burning with anxiety to obtain the most accurate information which might assist him in the prosecution of his enterprise.

He coasted cautiously round the island, marking well its various points of defence, as also those which seemed to him the most vulnerable, the positions of the harbours, the sites of the towns, and the number of their inhabitants. By the time he had concluded his survey, he discovered that the undertaking was one of no

ordinary magnitude, and that the island possessed the most formidable means of defence, if its inhabitants knew how to avail themselves skilfully of their advantage. Undeterred by the knowledge of these difficulties, he returned to Cyprus determined to lose no time in organising his expedition, and carrying his resolution into effect. Unfortunately, however, in the midst of his preparations, a sudden and violent illness put a period to his existence, and postponed for awhile the execution of a project he had had so much at heart.

This event occurred in 1308, and the Order, by the members of which he was much regretted, elected his brother Fulke in his place; conceiving, with great justice, that as the latter had always been in his confidence, there could be but little doubt that he was the best fitted to carry out the grand design of his brother. His first act on assuming the reins of office was to proceed at once to France, in order to procure an audience with Clement V. and Philip the Fair, from both of whom he hoped to obtain ample assistance in his project. He found the two potentates in close and secret conclave at Poictiers, in company with James de Molay, the unfortunate Grand-Master of the Temple, who had arrived there during the preceding year, in profound ignorance of a cruel plot then framing against himself and his fraternity. Villaret lost no time in opening his mind to both Pope and king, pointing out the innumerable advantages which the acquisition of Rhodes by the Knights of St. John would confer upon the whole of Europe. Clement V., with an excusable ambition that the period of his papacy should be marked by an event so important to Christianity, entered warmly into his schemes: not content with contributing a large sum of money from

his own private resources, he used his utmost influence to obtain for Villaret such assistance, both in men and money, as his papal authority could extract from the various nations who acknowledged his supremacy.

In order to prevent the secret of the enterprise from transpiring, a new Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land was preached, backed by the promise of plenary indulgence to those who should either join the expedition or contribute funds for its support. To the Grand-Master he yielded the right of nomination to the post of archbishop of Rhodes, in the event of his success requiring the creation of such a dignity. Large numbers of enthusiasts responded eagerly to the papal appeal, and flocked to Brundusium, which had been appointed the rendezvous from which they were to embark. Villaret found that he had not means of transport for one third of those who proposed to accompany him, great part of whom were but a disorderly throng, more likely to impede than to assist him in his projected enterprise. Selecting, therefore, only the flower of these hosts of volunteers, he embarked them on board the galleys which had been expressly furnished for this expedition, as the joint contribution of Charles II., king of Sicily, and the republic of Genoa.

Villaret was a man of a very haughty and reserved character, and not one to submit with impunity to the cross-examination of his inferiors. In his hands lay the chief command and entire control of the expedition, and the known peculiarities of his disposition may have aided him materially in preserving within his own breast the secret of its destination. Passing Rhodes at some little distance, in order to avoid awakening the suspicions of its inhabitants, he proceeded to Cyprus, where he embarked

such members of his Order as had remained there during his absence in Europe. He thence proceeded in a north-easterly direction, and having left Syria on his right, he entered a port in Asia Minor. Every one was now eager to learn their ultimate destination, but Fulke was still impenetrable in his reserve. To his own Order only did he unfold his design, with strict injunctions of secresy, for from them he was sure of a cheerful, nay even an enthusiastic support. To the remainder of his forces he still maintained the fiction of a Crusade, with the prospect of which it was his intention to blind them until the proper moment arrived for throwing off his disguise.

His object in thus putting into port was to enable him to send an embassy to Constantinople, to demand from the emperor the sovereignty of Rhodes, when he should have achieved its conquest, promising in return an annual contribution both of men and money to the Greek empire, in case his request were granted. The emperor, however, although his authority over Rhodes was at that moment purely nominal, the reality having long since slipped from his grasp, declined to consent to this proposal. It is likely that he conceived he had a greater prospect of being enabled to regain possession of the island, whilst it remained in the hands of Saracen pirates, than if it once became the stronghold of the Order of St. John. This refusal having been fully anticipated by Fulke, had but little weight in dissuading him from his task, on the prompt execution of which he was more than ever intent. Whilst awaiting the answer from Constantinople he had despatched spies into Rhodes, with a view to obtaining most accurate information with respect to the island. These spies had returned with such tempting accounts of its wealth and fertility, of the beauty of

its towns, the verdure of its fields, and the commodiousness of its harbours, that his impatient spirit yearned to hold within his grasp the possession of so lovely a spot.

Once more embarking his forces, and now at length revealing to them their destination, he speedily sighted the much-coveted prize, and without allowing the inhabitants time to recover from the surprise and panic into which the sudden apparition of his fleet had thrown them, he made a descent upon the coast, and after a slender and ineffectual resistance on their part, effected a landing. By this prompt measure the open country fell in a great measure into his hands; still, as the town of Rhodes remained in the possession of the Saracens, this occupation availed him but little, and he felt that the greatest part of his task remained yet to be performed, so long as the banner of the crescent continued to wave over its ramparts. Gallantly, therefore, did he attempt by a daring storm to carry off this stronghold of the pirates, but in vain; the number and valour of the besieged, added to the strength of the defences by which they were surrounded, more than counterbalanced the impetuous energy of the crusading invaders, backed though these latter were by the veterans of the Hospital, and led on by the daring Villaret himself.

Many of the Saracens, who had during the first moments of panic embarked on board their galleys, and put to sea, finding that all was not lost as they had imagined, returned to port, and aided to swell the strength of the garrison. The emperor of Constantinople also, so soon as he had learnt that the contemplated descent upon Rhodes had been actually effected, despatched at once an auxiliary force to assist in driving out the invaders, trusting that after their expulsion he

might succeed in regaining possession of the island for himself. In the face of this augmentation in the numbers of the foes against whom he had to contend, Villaret was doomed to witness a rapid decrease in the strength of his own forces. Many of those gallant spirits who in a moment of enthusiasm had joined the Crusade, under the firm conviction that its object was the expulsion of the Saracen from Palestine, and the restoration of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, found their religious ardour considerably abating when they discovered that they were called upon to combat, not for that sacred object which had been for centuries the incentive to European valour, but for the private advantage of an Order which, notwithstanding the numerous benefits it was daily conferring on Christianity, was by many regarded with jealousy and suspicion, if not with actual dislike. One by one the warriors of Europe abandoned the enterprise, and shrank stealthily away from the scene of a strife which was daily becoming more and more unpromising. Eventually, Villaret found himself abandoned by all, excepting the members of his own fraternity, who having staked everything on the cast, had, with him, determined to stand the hazard of the die.

Under these adverse circumstances, all further attempts at the capture of the city were for the moment out of the question, and it was not long ere he found himself surrounded by his foes and in a state of siege within the limits of his own camp. Aroused into a state of fury by the audacity of this leaguer of Greeks and Saracens, Villaret assembled all that remained to him of his invading army, and, after a brief and spirited harangue, he led them forth to the assault, determined either to clear the country of the enemy or to sacrifice

the slender remains of his force in the attempt. The struggle was long and obstinate, and the loss of the Hospitallers such as, in their state of numerical weakness, they could but ill afford. Desperation at length inclined the balance in Villaret's favour, and ere that evening sun had set he had the satisfaction of once more standing master of the field and witnessing the dispersion to the four winds of heaven of the numerous battalions who had hemmed him in.

The routed Saracens, taking advantage of the approaching darkness of night, flung themselves headlong into their galleys, and, crossing over to the main land, spread throughout the province of Lycia the dismaying intelligence of their utter defeat. Meanwhile Villaret, having re-assembled the proud relics of his force, returned once again to his attempts upon the city; but, finding himself far too much enfeebled to achieve its capture by assault, he determined to convert his attack into a blockade, and to await the arrival of reinforcements from Europe. His steady perseverance and dauntless energy carried him triumphantly through the difficulties of this crisis. He succeeded in obtaining a large sum of money, by way of loan, from the Florentine bankers, upon the security of the revenues of his Order, which he pledged for the purpose,—a security which, from many concurrent causes, could hardly have been considered safe, and which must have required no little financial talent on his part to have rendered marketable. Provided thus with the sinews of war, he was not long in calling to his side, and arraying beneath his banner, a considerable number of those mercenary troops whose services were at that time always to be purchased by a good paymaster.

Finding his numbers now once more restored to something of their pristine state, and his foes, cooped up within the walls of the town, being much disheartened by the lengthened blockade to which they had been subjected, he determined once more to resume active operations, and, on this occasion, with greater success than before; for, on the 5th of August, 1310, the white cross banner of the Hospital was waving over the ramparts of Rhodes; and the remnant of that nest of pirates who escaped the exterminating sword of the invader, had fled in confusion to the shores of Asia.

No authentic records of this struggle now exist or appear ever to have come to the aid of the historian of this epoch; the only account of its transactions having been the somewhat apocryphal details which could be gathered from the study of a set of tapestry hangings commemorating the events of this siege, which for many years decorated the residence of the Grand-Master, in the convent at Rhodes. It has been recorded by some of the older historians,—although those of a later date have rejected the fact as an absurd fable,—that an entry was finally obtained within the ramparts of the town by the following stratagem. On a dark and foggy morning (and of a truth the day must have been very dark and very foggy), some of the most daring of the Knights of the Hospital arrayed themselves in the fleecy clothing of those gentle denizens of the mountain pastures who were wont daily to pass the gates of the town in search of food. Joining the flock whilst returning homewards into the city, they entered along with them unperceived, bearing out truly the simile of wolves in sheep's clothing. Once within

the ramparts of the town, they were not long in announcing to the shepherds their true character, and, gaining possession of the principal gate, soon admitted their expectant brethren. Without attaching more importance to this fable than its manifold absurdity warrants, we are compelled to admit that all details as to the actual capture of the city of Rhodes are wanting. It has been presumed, and probably with some reason, that a large fire, which nearly destroyed the whole convent during the first century of their residence in the island, may have consumed such documentary evidence of the transaction as was likely to have been retained amongst the public archives.

The name of Rhodes appears to have been derived from the number of roses for which the island was famous, it having been previously called by the Greeks Ophieuse, or the Island of Serpents, owing to the number of these venomous reptiles with which it was at that time infested. Possessing a mild and temperate climate, which, while far removed from the scorching heat of the tropics, was at the same time totally free from the chilling blasts of more northern latitudes; with a soil the fertility of which was such as to render the whole island a garden, broken into alternate masses of hill and dale, whose rich and varied undulations were clothed with the most brilliant verdure, it was indeed a spot likely to attract the attention and excite the desires of a body of men who, like the Hospitallers, were in search of a permanent home. During the earlier ages of the Greek monarchy, Rhodes had been celebrated for the civilisation and manufacturing skill of her children; it was computed that at one time no less than 2000 statues adorned the island, whilst as workers in metals

the Rhodians never were surpassed. Its hardy population furnished a constant supply of mariners, who in the pursuit of commerce were to be met with at every point within the coasts of the Mediterranean, and whose skill and energy raised the general character of their island to a very elevated point amidst the European commonwealths. When, however, in later years, the island fell under the domination of the effete empire of Constantinople, it gradually became inoculated with the same vices, and the same decay, that were slowly but steadily achieving the overthrow of the mother country. At the time that the Knights erected their banner upon its walls, the inhabitants had lost all that energy and strength of character which had of old distinguished them, and had bowed in abject submission to the yoke of the Saracenic pirates whom they had received within their ports.

Villaret's first act, after having secured possession of the town of Rhodes, was to embark on board his fleet with a large portion of the force that remained under his command, and paying a visit to the various small islands by which he was surrounded, he speedily enforced their submission to his authority. In this manner he successively touched at the islands of Nisyrus, Leros, Calamos, Episcopia or Telos, Calchos, Symia, and Cos; in none of which did he find any difficulty in asserting his rights of domination. In the latter island he determined to establish a small subsidiary fortress, perceiving its importance as a point of support to the principal island. Having completed these precautionary measures for the protection of his newly-achieved conquests, Villaret returned to Rhodes, for the purpose of taking steps to establish his convent in perpetuity in the island. From

the time of the first landing of the Hospitallers, until their final settlement in undisputed sovereignty over that and the adjacent islands, a period of nearly four years had elapsed, the whole of which was passed in a constant succession of struggles before the last of their piratical opponents had been driven to the mainland.

But while these events were occupying the energies and engrossing the attention of the members of the Hospital, changes of the most vital importance had occurred in Europe, which materially affected their future fortunes, and to which it will be necessary now to refer.

After the death of Pope Benedict XI., the conclave of Cardinals, assembled to elect his successor, found themselves divided into two factions, which might be distinguished as French and Italian. Fortunately for the interests of Philip the Fair, the leader of the French party was Cardinal Dupré, a consummate politician, and well versed in the intrigues of a court. Perceiving that his party was not sufficiently numerous to carry the election of a French nominee, and trusting that he might meet the views of his monarch in a different manner, he, on behalf of his French colleagues, intimated to the adverse faction that he would allow them the nomination of three candidates for the post, provided they would consent to the election of whichever of the three he might select. The Italians, perceiving that by nominating three of their own side as candidates they could ensure the election, acceded at once to the proposal, and submitted the names of three rampant Ultramontanists for Dupré's choice. Amongst these was Bertrand de Got, the archbishop of Bordeaux, a man of unprincipled character, loose morality, and overweening

ambition. Dupré conceived that in this prelate king Philip might, if he acted judiciously, find a willing tool, although he was at that moment his open and avowed enemy. He therefore at once secretly despatched a messenger to Philip, informing him of the decision at which the cardinals had arrived, and that the nomination of the archbishop of Bordeaux lay within the power of the French party. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Philip immediately wrote to Bertrand begging him to repair at once with the utmost privacy to an appointed rendezvous, where the king was anxious to submit for his acceptance certain offers of great advantage to himself. The result of this clandestine interview was, that Philip consented to procure his nomination to the Papal See; whilst on his side, Bertrand pledged himself to carry out the king's views in all matters relating to Church government in France. It has been very generally recorded that, in addition to these promises, the expectant Pope was required to pledge himself to exercise the whole authority of his position in order to carry out the speedy and complete destruction of the Order of the Temple. Between this fraternity and Philip a bitter and undying hatred had been engendered, much fostered by the numerous acts of arrogance and insubordination to his authority, of which its members had been so frequently guilty.

In order to carry out these projects, Bertrand had been no sooner elected to the chair of St. Peter, under the title of Clement V., than he prepared to take the first steps towards their annihilation, by securing the person of the Grand-Master, James de Molay. For this purpose he wrote, as we have already seen, to the chiefs of both Orders, requiring their immediate pre-

sence at Lyons, where his court was at that time established, for the ostensible purpose of deliberating with him as to the propriety of organising a new Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. John de Villiers declined obeying this mandate, not from any suspicion of treachery or danger, but simply because he was at the moment busily engaged in preparing for a descent on Rhodes. James de Molay, however, who was the only victim Clement cared to entrap, most unfortunately for himself and his Order, lost no time in repairing to France, where he arrived in the early part of 1307, bearing with him a large accumulation of treasure, the property of the fraternity, which, for greater security, he lodged in the Temple at Paris. He was at first treated with every consideration by both king and Pontiff: various discussions took place between Clement and himself, both as to the advisability of a Crusade, and also as to a projected union of the two Orders; indeed, Clement was so urgent on this latter point, that it may be doubted whether he did not trust, by some such amalgamation in which the Templars might lose all individuality and become merged into the Order of the Hospital, to avoid proceeding to those extremities against them which the ruthless Philip contemplated, and to the execution of which, by his promises to that monarch, he stood pledged. Be this as it may, Molay steadfastly rejected the proposal, and in a lengthy document, which history has preserved, he adduced numerous arguments in support of his opposition to the measure. From this moment his fate was sealed; if the Pope had intended his proposal as a compromise whereby the lives and property of the Order might be preserved, the antago-

nism of Molay had caused its failure, and from that moment he determined to let matters take their course. . .

The pear was now ripe, the moment had arrived for which Philip had so deeply and so constantly plotted, and the fatal blow was to be no longer delayed. Secret orders were simultaneously issued to the judicial authorities throughout all the provinces of France, directing them to take a speedy and complete survey of all the Temple preceptories within their districts; making themselves thoroughly acquainted with the number and persons of such Knights as were there resident; and on the 13th of October they were to be all surprised and made prisoners. An inquiry under the Inquisition was to be at the same time instituted, the application of torture being authorised, in order to furnish such confessions from the lips of the unfortunate captives as might justify the proceedings taken against them.

These instructions were faithfully carried into effect, and on the appointed day, every Templar at that time within the limits of the French dominions was seized, and either cast into a dungeon, or placed in close confinement within his own preceptory. The witnesses, by whom the accusations brought against the Order were sustained, consisted of two reprobates, both under sentence of perpetual imprisonment: the one, Nosso de Florentin, an apostate Templar; and the other, Squire de Florian, a citizen of Bezières. Both of these worthies having been confined in the same dungeon, found ample time, in their enforced hours of idleness, to concoct a string of charges, such as required the full amount of credulity prevalent in those days to believe, and by which they trusted to purchase their own

liberation from the punishment which their crimes had justly brought down upon them.

These charges, which were afterwards framed into a regular act of inquisition, embraced no less than seventy-seven different items: the first thirteen of which imputed to the fraternity a total disbelief in God, our Saviour, the crucifixion, the blessed Virgin, and the other Saints; and that they performed divers acts of sacrilege, such as trampling and spitting upon the cross and the image of our Saviour. The next two articles accused them of worshipping a cat as a mark of contempt of the Christian religion. The next eight articles included a repudiation of the Sacraments of the Church. The following six implied a belief in the power of the superiors of the Order to grant absolution. Then followed six more items, accusing the fraternity of a number of acts during their reception of a novice which cannot be further alluded to. Three more made it a crime that the reception was performed in secrecy. Crimes and abominations, too disgusting to be named, formed the subject of the next seven, after which came twenty-one more accusing them of the worship of idols, and the remaining articles related to matters of heretical depravity. The idol alluded to as an object of worship was described as having "two carbuncles for eyes, bright as the brightness of heaven," and as covered with an old skin embalmed, having the appearance of a piece of polished oil-cloth. In their rites and ceremonies to this attractive object of worship, they were supposed to cook and roast infants, and to lubricate their idol with the fat; it was also said that they burnt the bodies of their deceased brethren, and made the ashes into a powder, which they administered to

the novices of the fraternity to confirm them in their idolatry, together with other abominations too absurd and horrible to be recapitulated.

On the 19th October 1307, the Grand Inquisitor commenced his examination of the Knights confined within the Temple at Paris, whose number amounted to 140. These unfortunate wretches were, one after the other, subjected to the most fearful tortures, under the skilful hands of the Dominicans, at that time justly esteemed the most expert torturers of the age. Whilst these revolting barbarities were being perpetrated in France, Philip had written to Edward II., who had just ascended the throne of England, enumerating the various accusations then being brought against the Order; and urging upon that monarch the necessity of his following the same line of conduct. To this letter Edward sent an answer, the tone of which implied a strong disbelief in the imputations sought to be cast upon the Templars, and refusing to take active measures in the matter without a rigid preliminary inquiry. It may be assumed that the result of this investigation was favourable to the accused, since on the 4th of December in the same year, we find Edward writing to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, and Sicily, requesting them to pay no attention to the accusations then being brought against the fraternity. He at the same time wrote to the Pope, to state his conviction that these rumours of foul and discreditable practices were utterly void of foundation. Unfortunately, however, for the Templars, the Pope had just addressed a bull to Edward, dated the 22nd November 1307, which must have reached him within a few days after he had despatched his own missive. In this document his

Eminence reiterates all the accusations that had been previously brought forward, and which he says are confirmed by the confessions extorted from the Knights who are prisoners in France. He therefore directs Edward, in that tone of arrogant superiority with which the pontiffs in those days were wont to address the monarchs of Europe, to cause all the Templars within his dominions to be taken into immediate custody, and their property to be committed into the hands of trustees, that they might be held in safety until he should send further instructions on the subject.

Whether this bull had really the effect of convincing Edward of the justice of the accusations, or whether he felt himself unable to cope with his ecclesiastical superior; or again, whether he foresaw in the impending dissolution of the Order a prospect of securing for himself, or for some of his unworthy favourites, a goodly slice out of that fair patrimony which the Templars had so long enjoyed within his dominions, and whose broad acres seemed now likely to fall a prey to the strongest arm; whichever of these reasons influenced the decision of the king, it is very certain that, in obedience to the orders of the Pope, all the Templars in England, save such as were sufficiently fortunate as to elude the grasp of the myrmidons of the law, were seized within their preceptories, on the 8th January 1308, to the number of 229. It will not be necessary to enter into any details of the proceedings that were carried on in both countries, the accusations being in most cases practically the same, and the results obtained not very dissimilar. Whilst, however, the examinations of the prisoners in England were carried on with comparatively but little cruelty, those undergone by the un-

fortunate victims of Philip's malevolence were coupled with every species of torture which the diabolic ingenuity of the priesthood could devise. A large number perished under the hands of the examiners; and many more sought a temporary relief from their agonies by acknowledging the justice of the accusations made against them.

There yet remained, however, a noble band, whose powers of endurance had enabled them to survive those tortures, under which their weaker brethren had succumbed, and the constancy of whose courage had been such as to have supported them even in that moment of fearful trial, and to have enabled them, manfully and firmly, to assert their innocence, even to the last. Of these noble specimens of the Christian soldier, fifty-four were burnt alive in Paris in one day, and they testified in the hour of death to the fair fame of their Order, and the fearful injustice of the persecution to which they had been subjected.

It was at length determined, between the king and Pope, that matters should be brought to an immediate termination; and a solemn council was convoked in the winter of 1311, to decide upon the ultimate fate of the fraternity. The members of this council, ecclesiastics though they were, and antagonistic though they had often proved themselves to the Templars, shrank from the task of annihilating an Order which, for so many years, had by its noble deeds of daring in the Christian cause, gained for itself the applause of every gallant spirit in Europe. Neither Philip nor Clement were to be turned from their fell purpose by the reluctance of a council of ecclesiastics; and the latter, in virtue of that plenary authority to which his position entitled him,

decreed on his own responsibility, and without even the form of sanction from the council, the utter and immediate suppression of the institution. After much discussion, and a variety of counter propositions, it was decided that all the estates of the Templars throughout Europe were to be adjudged to the Knights of Rhodes, under whose charge their revenues were to be placed, consecrated to the defence of the Holy Land, and of the pilgrims who annually sought its shores.

The concluding act of this bloody drama remained yet to be performed; the Grand-Master and the three grand-priors of Normandy, France, and Aquitaine, still remained languishing within the dungeons of their persecutor. The extremity of the torture to which they had been subjected had elicited from each of these dignitaries a partial confession on some of the absurd accusations brought against them; and it was felt necessary, in order to justify the atrocious cruelties and the scandalous spoliation of which the fraternity had been the victim, that this act of confession should be reiterated with the utmost publicity by these unfortunate Knights. For this purpose a scaffold was erected in front of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, and on the 18th of March 1313, the citizens were called together to hear the confessions of these four principal officers of the Order read aloud, and confirmed by themselves. As soon as the prisoners had taken their places on the scaffold, the bishop of Alba, after a violent harangue, in which he recapitulated the principal accusations that had been brought against the Templars, gave forth to the public the contents of a document, purporting to be an admission, on the part of the Grand-Master and his three companions, of their guilt. Upon being required to confirm

these confessions, the priors of France and Aquitaine admitted the truth of the statements, and this act of cowardice on their part purchased an ignominious prolongation to their existence; but James de Molay, advancing to the edge of the scaffold, in a loud tone of voice utterly repudiated his previous admissions. He announced to the assembled multitude, that not only had they been originally extorted from him in a weak moment, under the agony of torture, but, that they had also been distorted and interpolated in the most scandalous and barefaced manner, by the inquisitors before whom the examinations had been conducted, and who, he stated, deserved the death to which Saracens condemn those who have been convicted of lying and forgery. The prior of Normandy commenced to make a similar recantation, but the assembled authorities hurriedly brought his address to a close, and the two recusants were at once taken back to prison. The indignation of Philip, at this unexpected result to a proceeding by which he had contemplated a complete justification of the severity of his previous persecutions, was unbounded, and he determined to wreak an immediate and fearful vengeance on the authors of his disappointment. Without the loss of an hour, the fiat for their prompt execution was issued, and that same evening James de Molay and his fellow victim, Guy the prior of Normandy, were both burnt before a slow fire, on a small island in the river Seine, on the spot where the equestrian statue of Henry IV. now stands.

The promulgation of the papal mandate, announcing the extinction of the Order of the Temple, had been followed by a bull which, in accordance with the decision of the council before-mentioned, decreed that their pro-

perty should be transferred to the Knights of Rhodes; but, for a considerable period this mandate remained utterly unfulfilled; and even eventually, only a small portion of their revenues returned to the coffers of the Hospitallers. In Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, the respective monarchs erected new military Orders, with themselves as Grand-Masters, under the title of perpetual administrators, for the ostensible purpose of repelling the inroads of the Moors; by which means they retained all the property of the quondam fraternity within their own hands. In France, Philip laid a claim to the sum of 200,000*l.* as a reimbursement of the expenses which the prosecution of the Templars had cost him, and his son extorted a further sum of 60,000*l.* before he could be brought to transfer the much-coveted lands into the possession of the Hospitallers. In England, the overthrow of the Order was followed by a general scramble for the good things thus left without an owner. Some Edward seized for himself, others he transferred to favourites about his court, whilst many more were claimed by the heirs of the original donors. The Pope, indignant at this secular appropriation of ecclesiastical property, wrote most urgently and menacingly upon the subject; and ultimately the pious dread of the papal fulminations extorted an act of parliament, in the year 1324, by which the Hospitallers were put into legal possession of their rights. They found, however, to their cost, that in those troublous times, there was a vast difference between legal right and actual possession, and the struggle between themselves and the many vultures who had settled upon their prey, was continued for a lengthened period, and rendered the addition to

their property in England a matter far more nominal than real.

Such was the end of the Order of the Temple, an institution coeval with that of the Hospital, and which had stood side by side with it on many a well-fought field, and during many a protracted struggle; now, however, whilst the one Order had by its recent conquest of Rhodes raised itself to a yet higher pinnacle of fame than it had before attained, the sun of its rival's glory had set in gloom, and was for ever quenched in blood.

The accusations by which its overthrow had been achieved, were in themselves so preposterous and even ludicrous, that they were evidently but a cloak behind which to conceal the actual motives which influenced their persecutors. To the reader of the present day it seems extraordinary that such childish and ridiculous fabrications should have entered the imaginations of men like Philip and his coadjutors, who were distinguished for the vigour of their judgment, and the wisdom of their policy, unscrupulous though it often was. The result, however, proved that they did not underrate the intelligence of the age; and that they had suited their fables to the capacity of those for whose benefit they had been concocted. No statement was too gross, no imputation too transparent, for the vulgar prejudices of the fourteenth century; so that under the cover of popular ignorance, and beneath the mask of pious enthusiasm, a bitter vengeance was wreaked for many a bygone injury, and many a forgotten insult; forgotten, that is, by the haughty Templar, in all the pride of his wealth and position, but not by those who were biding their time, and by whom it was carefully nursed in silence, and in

secret, until that fatal hour should arrive, when a prompt and ample revenge might be secured in his blood.

Still, although it cannot for one instant be denied that the pretences, under cover of which the annihilation of the fraternity was achieved, were utterly false and without foundation, it does not follow that therefore they are to be acquitted of all evil, and to be surrounded by that halo of martyrdom which it has been the object of so many panegyrists to spread over their later days. The ordinary reasons attributed to Philip, Clement, and the other authors of their overthrow, will not suffice entirely to account for their catastrophe, though doubtless they may have had much weight in the matter. If it were avarice alone that prompted the act, how came it that Clement, who was the principal agent in the transaction, instead of appropriating their revenues to himself, or even to the ecclesiastics under his own immediate control, exerted his authority to the utmost to transfer that property to the rival fraternity of the Hospital? Again, how came it that that Order was not called upon to share the same fate? Had the amount of their worldly possessions been the only object by which the decision of their judges was influenced, the Hospitallers would have been the first to fall. They were more numerous, and endowed with ampler revenues, if not in England, most certainly in France, where the persecution was first hatched; they would, therefore, have afforded a far richer booty to the spoiler than could have been extorted from the Templars. Had this motive of avarice been the only incentive which prompted Philip in that ferocious onslaught, which he had originally devised, and which he was the chief agent in carrying into execution, his was not the

character to have tamely submitted to be defrauded of his gains, at the very moment when they had fallen within his grasp, through an abject fear of those ecclesiastical fulminations which were the only weapons Clement could have wielded against him. That pontiff was a creature of his own, elected by the favour of his nomination, and pledged to support him in all his undertakings. What then had he to fear, even though he had retained within his own hands every acre of land which throughout the breadth of his fair kingdom had once been lorded over by the Red Cross Knights?

We must needs look deeper than this for the motives which prompted the annihilation of one Order whilst it aggrandised the other on its ruins. At this distance of time, and in the absence of any conclusive evidence upon the subject, it would be very difficult to assert positively what these motives may have been. That the Templars had, of later years, achieved for themselves a reputation far from enviable, is an indisputable fact; that general dissoluteness, riot, and debauchery of every kind, had for a lengthened period been rampant within their preceptories, must be admitted by every impartial student of history. To drink like a Templar had become a bye-word throughout Europe; nor were their vices confined to intemperance only; they had indeed become cankered and corrupted through the vitiating influence of inactivity and idleness; the objects for which they had been instituted, and which had held them together during two centuries, had been abandoned finally and for ever. The Templar in his saddle, crossing the sandy plains of Palestine, was an institution of the country; and, as such, it grew and flourished, and the European preceptories became only so many off-

shoots and nurseries, from whence the parent stem was nourished; but now that the stately tree had been felled, that Syria had been abandoned, and that nought was left but the clinging roots, which spread their ramifications within the soil of every country in Europe, devoid of strength sufficient to enable them to spring up afresh, and yet drawing from the impoverished land, in the midst of which they had been planted, that sustenance which could but ill be spared, it was felt that their day was passed, and neither Philip nor Clement hesitated to root them out, and destroy them for ever.

Even at the present day there are not wanting those who, without absolutely going the lengths of the accusations enumerated above, still consider that there existed among the fraternity an unholy compact, which bound them together within its secret spell; there was in their mode of reception, and in many other formula of the Order, so much that was hidden from the vulgar gaze, and such strict secrecy was practised, that it is not impossible this suggestion may have had much truth in it; at all events, it is a curious fact that the Hospitallers, against whom no similar accusations were levelled, abjured all secrecy in their forms and ceremonies; nor is it easy to imagine the object of such a rigid silence, if there were nothing behind which required concealment. The greatest of our modern novelists has, in his romance of "Ivanhoe," placed in the mouth of Brian de Bois Guilbert, a Knight of the Temple, during his interview with Rebecca, a confession that within the secret conclave of his Order the difference of creed was held in derision as a nursery tale, and that their wealth was dedicated to ends of which their pious founders

little dreamed, and which were concealed from all such as embraced their Order on its ancient principles. Sir Walter Scott, who was undoubtedly the most faithful portrayer of character of his age, would never have ventured upon such a trait as this, had he not been well assured of its probability. All concurrent testimony of collateral circumstances point that way, and account for the apparent anomaly, which left the one Order intact whilst it destroyed the other.

Still, whatever may have been their crimes, it is impossible for the historian to touch upon this last sad scene in their eventful career without some expression of pity for their cruel fate. However they may have degenerated of late years, they had for two centuries nobly borne their part in the struggles of the East, and had earned for themselves a name within the page of history of such high renown, that it should have saved them from so fearful an end. Within these pages their name will not again appear; from this date their brethren of the Hospital will be left to struggle on alone, and the ill-disciplined gallantry and the impetuous valour of the Templar, now that he is no more, must be pleaded in palliation of those crimes which so unfortunately blotted his fair fame.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAP. VIII.

VILLARET ESTABLISHES HIS ORDER AT RHODES. — HIS ARROGANCE. — PLOTS AGAINST HIM. — HIS FLIGHT TO LINDOS. — APPEALS TO THE POPE. — HIS RESIGNATION. — APPOINTMENT OF ELYON DE VILLANOVA. — DIVISION OF THE ORDER INTO LANGUAGES. — DEODATO DE GOZON AND THE DRAGON OF RHODES. — WAR AGAINST THE TURKS. — CAPTURE OF SMYRNA. — ELECTION OF DEODATO DE GOZON. — HIS RESIGNATION. — INTRIGUES OF HEREDIA, THE CASTELLAN OF EMPOSTA. — EXPEDITION TO ALEXANDRIA AND CAPTURE OF THE TOWN. — ELECTION OF HEREDIA AS GRAND-MASTER. — HIS PREVIOUS HISTORY. — HE ESCORTS THE POPE TO ROME. — HE JOINS THE EXPEDITION TO PATRAS. — CAPTURE OF THE CITY. — HEREDIA FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF THE TURKS. — HIS RANSOM. — SCHISM IN THE CHURCH. — HEREDIA RETURNS TO AVIGNON. — HIS DEATH.

VILLARET having by his recent successes found himself in undisputed possession of the Island of Rhodes, lost no time in commencing to secure his position, by restoring the shattered ramparts of the town. At the same time he made such arrangements, in connexion with the islands surrounding his stronghold, as their close proximity seemed to render advisable.

The principal of these was Cos, afterwards called Lango, and at present known by the name of Stanchio. This island was considered to be of so much greater importance than its neighbours that Villaret determined to render it secure from a coup de main by the erection of a castle, which was garrisoned by a body of Knights. After the division of the Order into languages,

its administration was exclusively confided to the Knights of Provence, under whose charge it remained until at the general chapter held in 1356, at Avignon, this monopoly was abolished, and the governance was again thrown open to the whole Order. Its possessors for the time being were held bound for the supply of a galley of twenty-six oars, fully manned and equipped, as their contribution towards the general fleet of the Order. Of the other islands, Calamos and Leros were celebrated for their marble quarries, and being otherwise very sterile, their inhabitants subsisted entirely by commerce. Symia was esteemed valuable to the interests of its new lords, owing to the excellence of the wine which it produced. It also carried on an extensive trade in sponges, which were raised from the bottom of the sea by divers. So much was this calling recognised as peculiar to the island, that it is recorded as one of its municipal laws, that no youth was eligible for matrimony until he was able to penetrate a certain depth beneath the water, and to remain there for a specified length of time. Its ship carpenters had also achieved a wide reputation; their light craft were known throughout the Mediterranean for superior excellence, both in rowing and sailing. On the summit of the most considerable height within this island the Grand-Master erected a post of observation, from whence the intelligence of any approaching danger might be conveyed to Rhodes, either by means of signal fires, or by one of its swift boats. The smallest of the islands was assigned as the private domain of the Grand-Master; and, although there is some doubt in the matter, still the general opinion appears to be that it was the Island of Patmos, celebrated as the spot where St. John devoted the last years of his life to the writing

of the Apocalypse. Within a few miles of Cos, was another island, named Nisyrus, in which was a hot spring of medicinal water, and an excellent harbour. It abounded in delicious fruit of every description, and its advantages as a residence were so apparent, that it was not long in growing into a place of importance. A considerable town rapidly sprang up, ornamented with columns and statues formed of the porphyry with which it abounded; and eventually it rose to be a bishop's see, subordinate to the archbishop of Rhodes.

Having taken such steps for the security of his government as a personal inspection of these islands proved to be necessary, Villaret returned to Rhodes, trusting to enjoy a period of repose after the lengthened struggle in which he had for several years been engaged. His hopes were not, however, as yet destined to be realised; the Saracens whom he had expelled from Rhodes had fled to the court of Osman, or Othman, a Turkish prince, at that time the ruler of Bithynia, in Cappadocia, together with much of the adjacent territory. This prince beheld with extreme jealousy the establishment of so redoubtable a foe as the Hospitallers had always proved themselves to be, to his nation and religion, within such close proximity to his own dominions. It was not difficult, therefore, for the Rhodian fugitives to persuade him to attempt the expulsion of the White Cross Knights from their new home.

Collecting a considerable force, he made a descent on the island before Villaret had had time to raise the fortifications of his stronghold to anything like a point of security. The determined valour of his Knights, however, was amply sufficient to supply all deficiencies in the strength of his ramparts; and, after several un-

successful assaults, Othman found himself compelled to abandon his attack, and to retire crestfallen to his galleys. Amadeus V., Count of Savoy, rendered loyal assistance to the besieged Hospitallers during this attack, which took place in the year 1315, in commemoration of which assistance, his descendants have since that time always borne on their shield the white cross with the word "Fert," as a device, that word being composed of the initial letters of the sentence, "*Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit.*"

The failure of Othman's enterprise left Villaret a period of leisure in which to complete the establishment of his government. Under his able superintendence, and expedited by his energetic promptitude, the ramparts of Rhodes were rapidly restored to a state of perfect security. The Saracen inhabitants of the town having all either fled of their own accord, or been expelled by the new comers, Villaret felt it necessary to restore his population by attracting to his capital a sufficient number of Christian inhabitants to fill the place of their piratical predecessors. Trade was encouraged in every possible way; merchants from every nation in Europe were tempted, by the freedom from restrictions which the commerce of Rhodes enjoyed under this politic chief, to make it their permanent residence. Within a very few years its harbours were filled with rich argosies, laden with all the most precious commodities of European traffic, from whence they bore back on their return voyage the no less valuable merchandise of the East. To protect this vast and annually increasing trade, the galleys of the Order, now grown into a regular fleet, traversed the Levant in all directions, at one time conveying the

homeward-bound merchantmen to their destination, and at another falling upon the Infidel corsair wherever he dared to show his flag; but rarely, indeed, returning to port without some substantial tokens wherewith to remunerate themselves for the hardships and perils of their voyage.

The wealth of the community was now increasing with amazing rapidity; the lately acquired revenues of the Temple, although as yet they had actually produced little or nothing to their new possessors, still appeared likely so to augment their funds as to warrant a considerable increase in the public expenditure of the fraternity. This rapid acquisition of wealth soon produced its customary fruits; luxury in every form gradually usurped the place of that simplicity which had been the original object of the early Hospitallers, and which so many of their succeeding chiefs had endeavoured to retain. The renown which the capture of Rhodes had reflected upon the Order had attracted into its ranks a vast number of the younger members of the noblest houses in Europe, youths whose minds were filled with all the martial ardour incident to their age and station, but in whose hearts there was kindled but little of that religious enthusiasm, which two centuries before had recruited the ranks of the institution with a body of men as austere in their private life as they were chivalric in their warlike zeal. The age had indeed changed, and with it the thoughts and feelings of the vast majority of mankind. The sentiment of piety, which, though rude in its mode of expression, had still formed the main incentive to the deeds of daring hitherto recorded, was now giving way to the more material and worldly aspiration of glory. It was

thought by these young candidates for knightly fame that, provided the Hospitaller was ever ready to meet his foe, either upon the deck of his galley or behind the ramparts of his stronghold,—provided he was at all times ready to shed the last drop of his blood in the defence of his Order and of his faith,—it would matter but little what his private conduct might be, and, whilst he could point to the deeds of daring which had rendered his name famous among his brethren, he deemed it quite unnecessary to practise those austerities which the rules of his Order had enjoined for his guidance.

Many, indeed, of the older Knights beheld with dismay and anguish this rapid and complete demoralisation which was undermining the first principles of their institution, and were loud and urgent in their remonstrances to the youthful offenders, endeavouring to restrain some of the most notorious of those excesses which they feared would bring them into disrepute. They pointed to the fearful tragedy which had so recently been enacted against their brothers in arms, showing how the same weapons that had been employed in the destruction of the one Order, might at any moment be made available for that of the other, should they by their conduct draw down upon themselves the odium of the powers that be. The revenues of the Templars were, as they justly remarked, more apparent than real, whilst, on the other hand, the public treasury was encumbered with the enormous liabilities arising from the sums of money borrowed by Villaret of the various bankers of Genoa and Florence, to enable him to achieve the conquest of Rhodes.

What, however, rendered all their exhortations futile,

was the fact that their Grand-Master himself, the man to whom everyone naturally looked for an example and a support, was in his own person outvying his youthful disciples in the extravagance of his luxury, and the dissipation of his life. Surrounded by favourites, on whom he bestowed all the patronage of his office, he gradually assumed an overbearing arrogance of manner towards all who were not disposed to render him an absolute homage. He appeared to consider that the acquisition of Rhodes, through the power of his genius and the dauntless perseverance of his will, had invested him with a sovereignty in the island, far more absolute than that appertaining to his magisterial position. That supremacy, which others considered as vested in the Order, and of which he was merely the chief administrator, was by him considered as a personal matter, peculiar to himself alone. The murmurs which the arrogance of his conduct gradually engendered, were at first low and suppressed. Men were loth to think hardly of the hero under whose guidance the Order had added so much to its renown. They were prepared to tolerate much in him which they would never have borne in another; but patience and forbearance have their limits, and Villaret gradually found that the brilliancy even of his reputation became eventually insufficient to stifle the murmurs excited by his haughty bearing.

This secret disaffection became at length converted into open complaint, and rose to such a pitch, that Villaret was summoned before the council to give an account of his government, and to answer the numerous charges which had been preferred against him. These consisted, not merely of allegations relating to his intolerable pride and hauteur towards those with whom

he was brought in contact; but, at the same time, of mal-appropriation of the public revenues. He was accused of having squandered these, partly to support his own magnificence, ostentatious display, and luxurious mode of living; and partly by bestowing them, with a lavish hand, on the sycophantic crowd of favourites with which he was surrounded. To this summons Villaret paid not the slightest heed, asserting that his position placed him completely above the jurisdiction of the council; and as it would have been impossible to adjudicate upon his alleged delinquencies in his absence, the malcontents were sorely puzzled to decide as to what should be their next step. At length an aged Knight, named Maurice de Pagnac, probably not without an eye to future contingencies, proposed that Villaret should be boldly seized within the precincts of his palace, and brought, *vi et armis*, before the council.

The execution of such a measure would, it was felt, involve no slight hardihood, owing to the extreme difficulty of approaching the person of the Grand-Master, as he was invariably surrounded, not only by his own favourites among the fraternity, but also by a compact body-guard of mercenaries, whom he retained in his pay. The attempt was therefore deemed impossible by day, as the certain result of such a step must have been a sanguinary, and probably a fruitless, contest; but it was thought more feasible to effect his seizure secretly by night, when the attendance on his person was naturally much reduced. One of his valets was bribed to undertake the conduct of the affair; and in consideration of an ample pecuniary equivalent for the service he was rendering, undertook to admit a body of the conspirators into the sleeping apartment of the Grand-

Master, where his capture might easily be effected. All being now satisfactorily arranged, and the plot having assumed a very feasible aspect, nothing remained but to fix the time for carrying it into execution. The conspirators, however, found to their cost, that a traitor is an edged tool, likely to cut both ways, and not more to be trusted by his new employers than by his original master. Whether the valet was over-bribed to reveal the conspiracy, or whether he was in reality, as has been alleged, so faithfully attached to his lord as to have shrunk from entering into the views of his enemies, it is very certain that he revealed the entire plot to Villaret, who was thus put completely on his guard as to the insidious designs in agitation against him.

The promptitude and boldness of his character stood him in good stead at this critical moment, nor was he long in forming a decision as to the line of conduct he intended to pursue. Under the pretence of a hunting party in the country, he, with a chosen body of his adherents, left his palace on the morning of the day which was to have ended in his capture, and betook himself in all haste to the Castle of Lindos, a fortified post, about seven miles from Rhodes, protecting a small but convenient and well-sheltered harbour. Once safely lodged within the ramparts of this asylum, Villaret bid defiance to the wiles of his antagonists, and protested against any acts to which the council might resort during his absence. Enraged at the failure of their enterprise, and conceiving that, by this act of open defiance, Villaret had completely compromised himself, the malcontents once more assembled in solemn conclave at the council board, where they found themselves joined by many of the more moderate members, who had hitherto remained

neuter, but who now threw the weight of their influence into the adverse scale, when they found that their chief had so far outstepped the limits of his authority as to seize upon and retain, in defiance of their orders, a stronghold of which they alone were the lords, and which he was garrisoning with foreign mercenaries, unconnected with the Order.

Loud and stormy was the debate, for, even then, Villaret was not without his friends, whose allegiance he had secured, either by the brilliancy of his former reputation, or by the munificence of his later days. Their voices, however, were not sufficient to stay the progress of the storm; his last offence had been too open and barefaced to admit of explanation, and a decree was therefore passed deposing him from his office. The next step necessary to be taken was to provide a successor to occupy the vacant post; and here the politic wiles of Maurice de Pagnac reaped their expected fruit. He had, from the very first, been the leader and the mainstay of the insurrectionary movement, to whom each one had looked for guidance and support in the desperate crisis which was clearly drawing on. Now, therefore, when a chief was required, of sufficient energy to establish and retain his usurped authority, every eye was naturally turned on him, as the most fitting candidate for the difficult post. He was therefore unanimously elected as the new Grand-Master, and a report of the whole proceedings, together with the fact of his nomination, was at once forwarded to the See of Rome, for the decision and approval of the Pope.

Villaret, at the same time, from his fastness at Lindos, likewise forwarded his version of the affair in an appeal

to his ecclesiastical superior. Here, then, was a tempting opportunity presented to the pontiff of intermeddling in the affairs of the Order, and of measuring his influence and authority therein. Three several bulls were at once issued by him, dated in the year 1317, in the first of which his Holiness thus addressed Villaret: "We are sorry to learn that you have been assaulted and compelled by your own Knights to fly from the city of Rhodes into a fortress in another part of that island; and although their conduct appears to have been highly incorrect, still you are accused of having excited it; we therefore cite both them and you to our presence, in order that we may investigate the affair, and base our decision on correct information." The second brief was addressed to Pagnac, citing him to appear likewise at Avignon, and the third nominated a Vicar-General, who should act as a *locum tenens* for the Grand-Master during the absence of the two claimants for that dignity.* The Knight, who was selected by the pontiff to hold this post, was Gerard de Pins, a personage of considerable note and very weighty influence amongst his brethren. During the disputes which had led to the deposition of Villaret and the election of a rival, he had retained a strict neutrality, supporting neither side, but lending the powerful influence of his example to those who were endeavouring to heal the schism thus unfortunately generated in their midst.

The nomination of the Pope was acquiesced in by all

* These three documents are all in existence amongst the papal archives at Rome.

parties without dispute, and during an interval of fifteen years, which elapsed before a Grand-Master once again ruled in *propria persona* in Rhodes, he maintained the dignity of his Order with the most exemplary firmness.

The two claimants, whose disagreements were about to become the object of papal decision, departed on their journey to Avignon, the city to which Clement had, on his election to the chair of St. Peter, transferred his seat of government, and where his successor, John XXII., the then pontiff, still resided. During the course of this voyage Pagnac had ample opportunities for discovering that the sympathies of Europe were strongly biassed in favour of his rival. Wherever they passed, he found that Villaret was received with all the honours due to the chief of a powerful Order, who had in his own person, by the conquest of Rhodes, achieved a European renown; whilst he himself was, by the vast majority, looked upon simply as an insurrectionary firebrand who had, from motives of ambition, excited those Knights, over whom he had any influence, to revolt against their legitimate chief. When they arrived at Avignon, he found matters not one whit improved; whatever might be the views of John with reference to the conduct of Villaret, he was certainly by no means disposed to favour Pagnac, and that Knight soon perceived that all chance of establishing his claim to the dignity of Grand-Master, for which he had so long toiled and plotted, and to which he so ardently aspired, was at an end for ever. In the bitterness of disappointment he withdrew himself from the papal court to indulge in solitude that chagrin with which he was overwhelmed; a chagrin which preyed

so actively on his feelings, that he sank under its influence.

His death removed one great difficulty from the path of the Pope, who now saw his way clear to the solution of the difficulty in a manner which should enable him to place a creature of his own at the head of the Order. With this view he reinstated Villaret in his office; not, however, before he had exacted from him a pledge that he would resign it again immediately, receiving in return the promise of a priory to which he might retire, and in which he might enjoy the dignities of his station and the revenues of his new office, free from all control on the part of the Order to which he belonged. Villaret having, in accordance with this pledge, resigned his post into the hands of the Pope, John summoned to Avignon all the Knights of the Hospital who were within reach of his influence, and there, beneath his own surveillance, and under the pressure of his own immediate presence, he caused a successor to be elected, in whose allegiance and ready obedience he felt sure that he could confide. Elyon de Villanova was the Knight thus selected, and irregular as was the mode of his nomination, the fraternity felt themselves unable to resist it; he was, therefore, duly recognised by them as their new chief, and took his position on the rolls of the Order as the twenty-fifth Grand-Master, in the year 1319. Villaret received the priory which had been promised to him, and retired thither in bitterness of spirit, to end in solitude and disgrace that life, the earlier portion of which had been so brilliant and prosperous. Sad fate for a man who had undoubtedly done great things, not only for his own Order, but for Christianity at large; and the

student of history will not fail to sympathise with that noble though ambitious spirit thus untimely doomed to a life of inglorious inactivity. No records bearing upon the rest of his career are now in existence; all that is known is that he died at Montpelier, where, in the Church of St. John, his monument still exists, on which his dignities are recorded, but without any mention of his degradation.*

By this arrangement on the part of the Pope, the interests of the Order suffered a double injury. In the first place they received as a chief a Knight not of their own selection, but a nominee of his, and one who soon gave evidence of the influences under which he was acting by bestowing some of the most valuable property of the Order upon the needy relatives of his patron.† The other injury inflicted on the Hospitallers, was the alien-

* The inscription runs thus:—"Anno Domini MCCCXXVII. die salicet 1er Semptembris obiit nobilissimus Dominus Frater Folquetus de Villareto Magister magni Hospitalio Sacræ Domus Sancti Joannis Baptistæ Hyerosolimitani Cujus anima requiescat in pace. Amen. Dic pro me pater et ave."

† It is stated in many histories that Pope John XXII. was the son of a cobbler. Whether this be true or not, it would be difficult now to determine; but there is no doubt whatever that he sprang from a very low origin. An amusing story is told of his election. It appears that he had earned a very high reputation for sanctity and humility; two virtues which shone so pre-eminently in his person that he received the cardinal's hat amidst universal approbation. This dignity did not appear in the least to exalt the lowly churchman in his own eyes; and when the election of a Pope at the death of Clement gave rise to much dispute, he took no share therein. It was therefore unanimously agreed between the rival candidates that the nomination should be left in his hands. To their amazement and consternation, this humble priest, in his mildest voice, pronounced the words, "Ego sum Papa," and thus nominated himself to the vacant dignity.

ation from their jurisdiction, during the lifetime of Villaret, of the priory to which he had been nominated. They thus learnt the bitter lesson, that by disagreement among themselves they were paving the way for the admission of a power which would be exercised in a manner highly prejudicial to their interests.

Villanova was in no hurry to exchange the luxuries of the papal court for the comparative banishment of a residence at Rhodes, and for a period of thirteen years he, under one pretence and another, postponed his departure. During this interval a general chapter was held by his mandate at Montpelier, at which the Order was, for the first time, divided into languages. Most writers, in treating of this subject, have dated this method of dividing the fraternity almost as far back as its first establishment. There appears, however, nothing whatever in the records now existing to warrant any such supposition, it being at this council that a division into languages appears for the first time. The Order, although originally established by Italian merchants, had rapidly become decidedly French in its composition, and this element had always afterwards preponderated. The assembly of the council at Montpelier added yet further to the influence of the French members. We find, therefore, that in fixing the number of the languages at seven, no less than three of those seven were French: viz. the languages of France, Provence, and Auvergne. The other four being Italy, Germany, England, and Aragon. The dignities in the gift of the Order were at the same time attached in proper proportion to these new divisions; the leading posts, owing to the preponderance of French influence, being given to their three languages. The name of Sir John

Builbrulx appears at this convocation as the turcopolier, a dignity then appropriated permanently to the English language. In addition to this grand cross, three others were at the same time appropriated to England: namely, the bailiwick of the Eagle (an honorary distinction formerly belonging to the Templars), and the grand priories of England and Ireland.

Many needful reforms were at this conclave introduced into the regulations, most imperatively called for owing to the extreme laxity of the discipline which, during the later years of Villaret's rule, had been prevalent amongst the fraternity. The number of those who preferred an easy and luxurious residence in a European commandery to the secluded life and constant warfare demanded of them at Rhodes, was very great, and the difficulty of compelling the absentees to make their appearance at the convent had increased so rapidly, that this subject was the first brought under consideration at the meeting of the council. It was ultimately decreed that a certain term of actual residence in Rhodes, and the performance of a definite number of caravans (as the voyages on board their galleys were called), should be an absolute requirement to qualify a Knight for holding any official post or dignity whatsoever. Several other stringent reforms were at the same time proposed and agreed to, though not without considerable discussion and many loud marks of dissatisfaction, in fact it soon became apparent that, owing to the council having been held in France, where the European dignitaries of the Order preponderated, they appeared more interested in the preservation of their local interests, than in strengthening the hands of the Grand-Master and the power of the central government.

Despite the warning which they had received in the savage persecution of their brothers of the Temple, there were not wanting members sufficiently daring to raise their voices at the council board, and urge the complete abandonment of Rhodes, and the retirement of the Order within their European commanderies. To the struggle for the acquisition of Rhodes, and the necessary outlay for its subsequent fortification and maintenance, they attributed all the financial difficulties of their treasury: difficulties which, in spite of their recent acquisition of Templar revenues, were in some countries threatening to overwhelm them with insolvency.* They urged, also, that the new system of naval warfare, in which they were engaging, was at variance with the leading principles of the institution, and unbefitting their knightly character; that since the abandonment of the Holy Land, they could render little or no service to the cause of Christianity by the maintenance of a predatory and desultory warfare amidst the piratical islets of the Levant. As a radical cure for these evils, they proposed the abandonment of their new stronghold; a remedy which, whilst doubtless it would have been most agreeable to themselves, would inevitably, if carried

* This was especially the case in England, where, in the early part of the fourteenth century, the revenues of the Hospital had fallen into such an encumbered and embarrassed condition, under the superintendence of Thomas Larcher, the Grand-Prior of England, that a general insolvency was feared. Fortunately, however, for their interests, the unthrifty Thomas Larcher either resigned or was deposed, and Leonard de Tybertis, the prior of Venice, nominated his successor. This Knight, by his skill in finance, succeeded in restoring the credit of his priory; and we find it, under the governance of his successor, Philip de Thame, in 1338, returning a comparatively satisfactory revenue to the public treasury.

into effect, have speedily caused the complete destruction of the Order. Fortunately for their general interests, the views of these laggard Knights did not find favour with the majority of the council; and instead of the abandonment of Rhodes, measures for its more ample protection received the sanction of the assembly.

This council was held in 1331, and in the following year Villanova, after a delay of thirteen years from the date of his election, landed at Rhodes. Here he found that, under the governance of Gerard de Pins, the fortifications of the town had been considerably augmented and improved, and a spirit of discipline introduced into the convent to which for many years it had been a stranger.

Whilst thus strengthening his position at home, Gerard de Pins had also been called upon to resist the aggressions of a foreign foe. Orcan, the son and successor of Othman, deeming that the opportunity was favourable which the dissensions caused by the deposition of Villaret had afforded, determined upon renewing the attempt upon the island in which his father had so miserably failed. He assembled a large fleet upon the shores of the province of Caria, and being joined by considerable numbers of the former inhabitants of Rhodes who had been expelled by Villaret, he set sail for that island. Gerard, who had received timely notice of the contemplated descent, determined not to await the shock of their assault behind the walls of his fortress, but to attack them boldly on that element on which he himself had been already so often victorious. Manning, therefore, such of his galleys as were then lying in the harbour, and being joined by six Genoese vessels which had rendez-

voused there, he put to sea and encountered the enemy near the little island of Episcopia.

The Infidel fleet was vastly superior in point of numbers; but they laboured under the disadvantage of being inconveniently crowded with the troops destined for the attack of Rhodes. The seamanship of the Hospitallers and the skill with which they took advantage of their greater powers of manœuvring more than counterbalanced their disadvantages in point of number, and the day ended in the complete destruction of the Infidel fleet; many of which were sunk and others captured, so that but few escaped from the scene of strife. This disaster was such a check to the Infidel power that Gerard, during the remainder of his government, was left unmolested to pursue the reforms he had instituted, and on the landing of Elyon de Villanova; he resigned the reins of office with the proud satisfaction of knowing that his rule had reflected glory upon himself and had been most beneficial to the interests of his fraternity.

It was during the earlier years of Villanova's residence at the convent, that the legend is recorded of the encounter of a Hospitaller with the famous dragon of Rhodes. The story is so well known and has been made the subject of so much illustration, that it appears almost needless to repeat it in these pages; still, as it was one of the incidents held in the highest estimation among the Order in subsequent ages, and retains a prominent place with all their historians, it would be wrong to pass it over in silence. The story runs that a large monster had made its appearance in the island, where it committed the most fearful devastation, carrying off numbers of

the inhabitants, especially women and children, and establishing itself as the terror and scourge of the locality. Numerous attempts had been made to accomplish its destruction, but in vain; and many of the bravest Knights had lost their lives in the gallant endeavours which they made to rid the country of this terrible pest. The Grand-Master, dismayed at the losses his Order had sustained in this novel warfare, forbade, under pain of the severest penalties, any further attempts at the destruction of the monster.

One Knight alone had the hardihood to dare a disobedience to his mandate. Deodato de Gozon, a youth whose dauntless courage scorned to quail beneath this strange foe, and whose chivalric heart was touched with the deepest emotion at the wail of grief extorted from the miserable inhabitants by the ever-recurring attacks of the dragon, felt that he could not refrain from one further attempt in behalf of these suffering peasants. Without confiding his design to any one, he retired by permission to France, where, in his paternal castle, he caused a fac-simile of the monster to be constructed in wood, covered with scales, and exhibiting, as nearly as possible, the terrifying aspect of its living counterpart. Having procured two English bull-dogs, whose breed was even then famous throughout Europe, he trained them to the attack of his fictitious monster, teaching them to fix their gripe upon the belly, where the animal was unprotected with scales. Having thoroughly accustomed his four-footed assistants to the aspect of their foe, he returned to Rhodes, where he at once proceeded to carry his project into execution. It is needless to enter into the details of the contest, though these are fondly dwelt on, with the most elaborate

minuteness, by the recorders of the legend. Gozon, by the aid of his canine allies, achieved the destruction of his enemy, though not before he had well-nigh paid with his life the penalty of his temerity, at the first onset of the brute. He was borne back in triumph to Rhodes, where the whole town received their deliverer with the loudest acclamations. This, however, was destined to be but short-lived; the Grand-Master promptly summoned him to appear before the council, to answer for the disobedience of which he had been guilty; and on his appearance, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends, he stripped him of his habit, as an unworthy and rebellious member. Having, by this display of severity, duly marked his determination to enforce obedience to his mandates, Villanova relented, and, in consideration of the noble gallantry which Deodato had displayed in the action, he not only restored his habit, but nominated him to one of the richest commanderies in his gift.

How far this legend can be borne out by facts is a very disputed point; some writers throwing discredit over the entire story, whilst others are prepared to admit the probability of its having at all events its foundation in truth. The opponents of the legend argue upon the gross improbability of the existence of any such monster, with the voracious propensities and extraordinary powers attributed to it: they also assert, that in the fourteenth century, there could have been no difficulty in achieving its destruction, without having recourse to the knightly, but somewhat antiquated, expedient of a combat on horseback. The use of Greek fire had long been known, and gunpowder itself was coming gradually into use. With the assistance of

these agents, it would not have been necessary for the attacking party to have run any great danger in securing the extermination of the reptile. On the other hand, it seems strange that the story should have obtained such very general credence, and been so universally upheld by succeeding generations. It is also an indisputable fact, that the tomb of Gozon bore the inscription, "Ci gît le vainqueur du dragon." There appears no way of accounting for this inscription, without attaching a certain amount of belief to some portion of the legend: the probability is, that Gozon did destroy some savage wild beast which had infested the island, after others had failed in their attempts, and had thus gained for himself a reputation that gradually swelled in its dimensions, until it eventually attained the gigantic proportions of the above recorded fable.

Villanova had not long assumed the chief conduct of affairs in Rhodes, before he was called upon by the Pope to join in a league to check the aggressive designs of the Turks. The other members of the alliance were to be the king of Cyprus, the republic of Venice, and the Pope himself. In his letter, demanding their aid, the pontiff prefers his request by bringing the most vehement accusations against the Order, for their luxurious mode of life, general effeminacy, and gross laxity of discipline. That these complaints were not devoid of truth is probable; but the tone of the letter, concluding, as it did, with a proposal, or more properly speaking, a demand, that they should contribute six galleys to the allied fleet, marks the object for which the reproaches were made. The assistance of the Order was most urgently required to forward the political views of his Holiness, and he consequently strove to render a refusal

impossible, by coupling his request with an accusation of a want of zeal in the cause of Christianity. His letter had the desired effect: the Order embraced the opportunity thus afforded of disproving the charges preferred against them, contributed their full quota to the allied armament; and throughout the war which succeeded became the life and soul of the expedition. The only result of any importance achieved by the league, was the capture of a fortress at the entrance of the Gulf of Smyrna, where the horde of infidel pirates who infested the eastern shores of the Mediterranean had been accustomed to find a ready shelter. This isolated and exposed stronghold was retained by the Hospitallers, through numberless difficulties and dangers, until the commencement of the succeeding century, when they were finally expelled by Tamerlane.

The league lasted, with varied success, for several years, until its members having dropped out one by one, the Hospitallers found themselves without assistance to carry out its further prosecution. A war had broken out between the Genoese and the Venetians, which compelled the former republic to withdraw from the alliance. The Pope also soon became eager to retire from a contest which was draining his treasury, without much tangible result. The league consequently died a natural death, and, without any actual treaty of peace having ever been made, active hostilities ceased, and matters gradually resumed their former footing.

During the interval, however, the Order had experienced a change of rulers, for in 1346 Villanova died, and Deodato de Gozon, the hero of the dragon, was elected as his successor. Vertot relates, that on the

occasion of this nomination, Gozon rose in his place at the council-board, and taking his audience completely by surprise, nominated himself as the best qualified person to succeed to the vacant office. This tale is a vile fabrication, for among the documents recently discovered amidst the archives of the Vatican, there has been found a letter, addressed to him from Clement VI., dated in July 1346, in which, after congratulating him on his election to the supreme dignity, the Pope alludes to the fact of his having been prevailed upon with great reluctance to accept the post. This letter, coupled with the circumstance of his having twice afterwards tendered his resignation, most completely exonerates his memory from the stigma of arrogance which this anecdote of Vertot's is calculated to cast upon it.

During his continuance in office, Gozon was much troubled with the difficulty he experienced in obtaining responsions from the more remote commanderies; and a circular is extant, addressed by him to the priors of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, reproaching them with not having remitted any responsions since they had left Acre. The war between the Genoese and Venetians created a new difficulty against which Gozon had to contend. The Order contained within its ranks Knights belonging to both these nations, who naturally sympathised with their countrymen in the struggle they were respectively carrying on, and when residing in their European commanderies were not unfrequently found among the belligerent forces on either side. By the rules of the Institution no Knight was permitted to draw his sword in behalf of any quarrel subsisting between Christian nations; the Pope, therefore, called upon Gozon to put a stop to this infraction of their

statutes; a mandate far easier given than obeyed. Deodato, in reply to his Holiness, affirms that the Order, in its corporate capacity, had never sided with any European power when at war with its neighbour, but that it would be impossible for him to prevent individual Knights from giving such practical proofs of their sympathies. This response appears to have given but little satisfaction at the Papal court; nor was this the only incident which occurred to disturb the quiet of Gozon's rule.

The due control and governance of the principal officers and dignitaries of the Institution residing at a distance from his own immediate supervision became annually a matter of increasing difficulty. Possessed, by their position, of considerable patronage and the control over large sources of wealth, they were enabled to ingratiate themselves with the higher powers in the various countries where they were residing; and finding themselves protected and supported in their disobedience by the monarch, they were enabled to bid defiance to the authority of the Grand-Master. Gozon became so deeply hurt at finding himself contemned, that he twice petitioned the Pope to permit him to resign his office. On the first occasion he was induced by the pontiff, after much persuasion, to retain his dignity; but on the second application his request was granted. He did not, however, live to carry out his purpose, a stroke of apoplexy having brought his career to a termination in the latter part of the year 1353.

At this time there resided at the court of Avignon, as ambassador from Rhodes, a Knight of the name of Heredia, who had found means to ingratiate himself

with the pontiff to such an extent that he became his principal confidant and councillor in all matters of state. By the influence, if not the direct nomination, of the pontiff, he had been elected prior both of Castile and St. Gilles, and castellan of Emposta, dignities which elevated him far above any of his fraternity then resident in Europe. Being, however, a man of a naturally ambitious turn of mind, and fearing, from his general unpopularity in the Order, that he would have no prospect of obtaining the dignity of Grand-Master, the idea suggested itself to his scheming brain that if he could procure the removal of the Grand-Master and the convent from Rhodes, he might himself become nominated by his friend the Pope to the supreme rule in that island, and to the title of bailiff, an authority which, in the hands of so unscrupulous and ambitious a man, would have been exercised with but little reference to the control of his chief. Under his advice, and acting in accordance with the suggestions he had judiciously made, the Pope despatched him, in company with Raymond de Beranger and Peter de Cornillan, a relation and namesake of the new Grand-Master, to Rhodes, to submit his views before a general council of the Order.

In this embassy he was instructed to inform the Grand-Master, on the part of the Pope, that it was his desire that the convent should be at once removed from Rhodes to the neighbouring continent; where, in the immediate contiguity of the Saracen, it might, by the terror of its name and the prowess of its members, check all further aggressions on their part, and form an advanced post of Christianity in the very midst of its foes. It was with feelings of dismay that the Grand-Master listened to the treacherous and cunningly-devised sug-

gestions thus laid before him. On the one hand, he felt that natural reluctance which became a faithful and obedient son of the Church to oppose himself to the desires of its supreme head; whilst, on the other hand, he could not but foresee that the probable result of any such movement would be plunging the Order defenceless, and far from aid, into the midst of its relentless foes, by whom its speedy and utter extermination would most inevitably be effected.

Under these conflicting circumstances he decided upon throwing as many obstacles as possible in the way of the papal project, without attempting any open opposition. With this view he explained to the ambassador that, although he was himself at all times ready to obey whatever mandates he might receive from his Holiness, still that this was a matter upon which he personally had not authority to decide. The proposed change of residence was a matter of so great importance to the future welfare of the fraternity, that it would be necessary to assemble a grand council, wherein the project might be debated and decided on. It by no means accorded with the views of the Pope that this council should be held in Rhodes, as its distance from Avignon was so great as to prevent him from using that influence and that pressure upon its members which would be necessary to secure their acquiescence in his new scheme. A council held in Rhodes would be attended by those whose attachments and interests would all naturally lean towards remaining in the island where they were located; whilst he trusted to find, amidst the dignitaries of the Order resident in France, a sufficient number more desirous of securing his favour than careful for the welfare of their own institution. He therefore sum-

moned the council to assemble at Montpelier; but, before its time for meeting had arrived, he determined to bring it still closer within the sphere of his influence, and changed its venue to Avignon.

Prior to the meeting of this council, however, the Pope had changed his views as to the locality to which he purposed transferring the convent. Instead of the coast of Asia Minor, he now looked to the Morea, as a more suitable and advantageous point of occupation. To this change Heredia made no opposition. Provided the convent was removed from Rhodes, so that he might assume the government of the island, it mattered little to him whither they were transferred; and he therefore supported this new proposition with the same earnestness as he had done the former one. The title to the Morea was at this time in dispute between James of Savoy and the emperor of Constantinople, but the greater portion of it was in the actual possession of the Turks, who were advancing step by step towards its complete acquisition. Negotiations were entered into with James of Savoy on the part of the council, to treat for the transfer of a place of residence for the Order of St. John. These negotiations were purposely spun out by every possible device; the project of a residence in the Morea being as little to the taste of the fraternity as that in Asia; and the death of James of Savoy, which took place before anything definite was decided upon, caused the design to drop to the ground and become virtually abandoned.

Whilst this weighty matter was in abeyance, Peter de Cornillan, or Corniellan, a Knight of Provence, and formerly grand-prior of St. Gilles, had guided the fortunes of the Order; he having succeeded Deodato de Gozon as Grand-Master in 1353. He did not, however, live to

witness the assembly of the council, having died in 1355, when he was succeeded by Roger de Pins, also a Knight of Provence, whose rule lasted during a period of five years. The only event of importance which occurred to mark this interval was an attempt made on the part of the Order to impeach Heredia before a grand council for having detained and mal-appropriated its revenues: they soon, however, found that he had established himself too firmly in the good graces of the pontiff to enable them to effect his overthrow; the result of the council being to confirm him in all his dignities, without affording any redress for the spoliations which he had effected. At the same council it was decreed that in future no serving brother should be raised into the class of Knights of justice; and also to prevent any further mal-appropriation of their revenues, such as that of which Heredia had been guilty, general receivers were nominated, to whom all responsions should be paid and by whom they should be remitted directly to Rhodes.

At the death of Roger de Pins, Raymond Beranger, also a Knight of Provence, was elected to the vacant dignity, and inaugurated his accession by an expedition, which he undertook in concert with the king of Cyprus, against the Infidel. The port of Alexandria had of late years become the principal rendezvous of the Turkish corsairs who infested the Levant; and Beranger, in conjunction with his ally, determined on making a sudden and bold attempt against this powerful fortress. The armament assembled in Cyprus, and consisted of a fleet, numbering nearly one hundred vessels of various sizes, carrying a large body of troops, who were mostly mercenaries, serving under the banner of St. John. The sudden appearance of this expedition within the port of

Alexandria, took its garrison completely by surprise; and Beranger, hoping to profit by their confusion, ordered an immediate assault. The number of the defenders was, however, too strong to enable him to succeed in his attempt at a coup de main. The parapets were speedily lined on every side, and wherever the Christians attempted to penetrate, they met with a most determined and obstinate resistance.

This was the first occasion upon which the Order had, within the lifetime of any of its then existing members, unfurled its banners and raised its war cry in a regular expedition against the Infidel; they were, therefore, nerved and excited by feelings of emulation to vie with the prowess of their predecessors. In vain the defenders poured the most murderous missiles upon their opponents. In spite of the showers of arrows which darkened the air in every direction; heedless of the boiling oil and the Greek fire, which was streamed upon those who attempted to mount the ladders; or of the huge rocks, beneath whose weight they were crushed to the earth, they still persisted in the assault. Encouraged by the presence and example of their chief, after each successive repulse they returned with redoubled ardour to the attempt, until at length, overcoming every obstacle, they forced their way into the town, and drove the Infidels for shelter into their citadel. This desperate struggle cost the fraternity no less than one hundred Knights, but its results were of sufficient importance to warrant the sacrifice. The booty found in the town was enormous, and the shipping in its harbour so extensive, that its destruction was a serious blow to the power of the Turk.

This capture took place on the 10th of October 1365;

and Raymond immediately prepared to attack the citadel, which was still occupied by the enemy. Before, however, he could achieve its capture, he learnt that the sultan was advancing to its relief with an army so powerful that it would be in vain for him to attempt a contest; he therefore burnt the town, together with all the shipping in the harbour, and whatever else could not be transported; and re-embarking his forces, returned in triumph to Rhodes.

Raymond died in the early part of the year 1374, and was followed in his dignity by Robert Julliac, Grand-Prior of France, who at the time of his election was resident in his priory. His first act, on receiving his nomination, was to proceed to Avignon to pay his homage to the Pope; whilst there, he received instructions from his Holiness, that his Order should in future take under their entire control the responsibility and direction of the defence of Smyrna; a post which, whilst most valuable to the interests of Christianity, was one of extreme danger and costliness to its immediate holders. Situated as it was, at a considerable distance from Rhodes, its garrison was completely isolated; and upon any energetic attempt on the part of the enemy by whom it was surrounded, its destruction would easily be accomplished, before reinforcements could possibly arrive. The cost also of the maintenance of such a garrison as the place imperatively demanded, was a terrible drain upon the already crippled resources of the treasury at Rhodes. As a partial alleviation of this burden, the Pope assigned to the Order, for the special support of the Smyrna garrison, the sum of one thousand livres annually, payable out of the tithes of the kingdom of Cyprus.

Charged with these unwelcome instructions, Julliac proceeded to Rhodes, and there, before a general council, he announced the mandate of the pontiff to its members. Their dismay on receiving this intelligence was universal; it was felt that the post was one of almost certain destruction, and that whoever should be nominated to form one of its garrison would be proceeding to inevitable death. At the same time it would be very difficult for them to oppose themselves to the wishes of the pontiff without incurring the imputation of cowardice, a charge from which every member of the fraternity shrank with a chivalric horror worthy of their high reputation. It was, therefore, decided to accept the trust, and all difficulty regarding the nomination of its garrison was brought to a close by the voluntary offers of service made by several of the Knights, who were forthwith despatched to occupy their new acquisition.

The rule of Julliac was very brief; for, in the middle of the year 1377, we find Heredia, the castellan of Emposta, elected to the post vacant by his death. The career of this man was so extraordinary and his influence over the fortunes of the Order both for evil and good so powerful, that he has with justice been looked upon as one of the most conspicuous characters who have figured in its annals. Descended from a noble family in Aragon, he was the younger brother of the Grand-Justiciary of that kingdom; a post of honour and importance second only to that of the crown. His brother, who had been for some years married without issue, felt desirous to see his family perpetuated through his brother Juan; he therefore caused him to marry at

a very early age. The fruits of this marriage were only two girls, at the birth of the second of whom Juan was left a widower. His brother, still eager upon the same subject, lost no time in providing him with a second spouse, selecting upon this occasion the niece of his own wife. From this union sprang a son, who was regarded by both his father and uncle as the future inheritor of all the vast wealth and high dignities of the family; Juan himself being by the action of the law of primogeniture totally destitute of fortune and entirely dependent upon his brother. His second wife died after giving birth to a daughter; and shortly afterwards, to his utter dismay and the complete overthrow of all his expectations, his brother's wife, who had for so many years been childless, gave birth to a son, whose advent was speedily followed by that of another. This disastrous incident left Juan high in spirit and haughty in temperament, but beggared in fortunes. Unable to rest calmly in his new position, and to remain through life an abject pensioner upon his brother, he secretly took his departure for Rhodes, leaving his children under the protection of their uncle. There he was received with every demonstration of welcome by the Grand-Master, Elyon de Villanova. After his profession he soon ingratiated himself with the dignitaries of his newly adopted Order, and his advancement became as rapid as his merits and his high birth warranted, until at length he was appointed castellan of Emposta, the most important post next to that of Grand-Master which the Order possessed.

The grand priory of Catalonia having become vacant, the nomination of a successor to the dignity gave rise

to a dispute between the Pope and the Grand-Master. The former had nominated a protégé of his own in defiance of the wishes of the council, and in utter disregard to the claims of seniority. In such a delicate matter the Grand-Master felt desirous that the dispute should, if possible, be decided amicably. He determined, therefore, upon sending an ambassador to the court of Avignon, with plenary powers to treat with his Holiness upon the disputed question. This was an office of much delicacy, and would require a person of extreme tact, and one in whose judgment and good faith the council could place implicit reliance. Heredia was unanimously selected for the office, and, after having received the most detailed instructions as to the line of conduct he should pursue towards the Pope, he set sail for Avignon.

The first interview which took place between the Pope and himself after his arrival, proved to him very clearly that it would be impossible to induce Clement to revoke the nomination which he had made to the vacant dignity. He therefore directed his energies towards bringing about an amicable compromise, by which the dignity of neither party might be offended. After much negotiation with the rival claimants, in the course of which he displayed in an eminent degree that diplomatic address which was destined to become the means of securing his own advancement, Heredia obtained their joint consent to an arrangement by which the revenues of the priory were to be equally divided between them. To this decision the Pope willingly gave his sanction, overjoyed to find the dispute brought to a close without the necessity of any retractation on his part. Had the matter ended here the

embassy of Heredia would have caused the most beneficial results to his Order; but, unfortunately his overweening ambition, ever on the alert for opportunities of advancement, prompted him to discover that he would be enabled to secure his own personal advantage far better by ingratiating himself at the papal court than by a weary residence in Rhodes. Instead, therefore, of taking his departure after his embassy had been brought to this satisfactory conclusion, he lingered at Avignon until he had succeeded in obtaining from the pontiff the appointment of supervisor to the disputed priory; neither of its joint holders being competent, from their advanced age, to undertake its management themselves. Their death, which occurred shortly afterwards, left the office of prior open, and Heredia had by this time established himself so far in favour at Avignon, that he obtained without difficulty his own appointment to the vacant dignity.

The dismay of the council at Rhodes may be conceived when they discovered that the ambassador, from whose diplomatic address they had expected such great results, had himself taken advantage of those abuses which they had commissioned him to oppose, to obtain a nomination, to which by the rights of seniority he did not possess the shadow of a claim. Heredia felt that after having taken this step a return to Rhodes was impossible. He therefore exerted himself to the utmost to secure his position at the court of Avignon, and to ingratiate himself with his new patron. In this he was so successful, that ere long he became the favoured minister and principal adviser at the papal court.

About this time, hostilities having broken out between

the kings of France and England, and an immediate collision being anticipated, Clement, who was earnestly desirous of avoiding such a consummation, despatched Heredia, in the capacity of a mediator, to the hostile camps, trusting that his diplomatic skill might suffice to bring about a reconciliation. Heredia, who entertained but slender hopes of such a result, secured the pontiff's permission to attach himself to whichever side was willing to accept his mediation, should the opposing party decline to avail themselves of it. In the course of his negotiations, he discovered that the king of France, who was desirous of ridding himself upon any terms of the English invaders, was most anxious to accept his good offices; but when he visited the British camp he found Edward in a very different mood. His offers of mediation were peremptorily refused, and himself treated with the coolest disdain. Irritated at this behaviour on the part of the English monarch, he announced to him that, in pursuance of the permission he had obtained, he should join the ranks of the French king in the struggle which he perceived to be impending. Within a few days afterwards, the celebrated battle of Crecy was fought; and Heredia, under the French banner, displayed the most conspicuous gallantry, and towards the close of the engagement was the means of saving the king's life. He was, however, himself desperately wounded in the affray, and for a considerable time his life was despaired of. Whilst still lying in a very dangerous condition from the effects of his wounds, it came to his ears that some of the chivalry of England, in the hostile camp, had expressed themselves in no measured terms upon the impropriety of an ambassador having taken an active part in the battle.

Heedless of his still precarious condition, Heredia at once despatched a herald to Edward, offering the gage of battle to any one who considered his conduct unbecoming the character of his office. This gage would undoubtedly have been accepted, had not Edward at once honourably acquitted Heredia of all impropriety, and published the declaration which he had made to him before the battle commenced. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered from his wounds, he once more resumed his office of negotiator, and it is to his good services upon that occasion that the truce which was shortly afterwards concluded between the two monarchs has been generally attributed.

During the Pontificate of Innocent II., the successor of Clement, the fortunes of Heredia reached their zenith. He had been the most intimate friend of the new pontiff prior to his elevation, and he now became his sole confidant and adviser. He was nominated governor of Avignon, and the affairs of the Papacy were entirely committed into his hands. Whilst occupying this exalted position, Heredia was courted on all sides; and the princes of Europe, with their ministers, sought by the most lavish gifts to ingratiate themselves with a man in whom so much power was vested. He consequently amassed a vast amount of treasure, which he bestowed upon his children, who now, no longer dependent on their uncle's family, found themselves raised to a position suited to the claims of their birth, and surrounded by all the pomp and luxuries which wealth could bestow. Heredia was a man of no ordinary mind; and there was a magnificence in his ideas more suited to one born to the disposal of a princely revenue, than, like himself, the cadet of a family however noble. Thus we find

him, in gratitude to his patron, surrounding Avignon with a fortified enceinte at his own cost, a work which must have entailed the expenditure of a vast sum. The Pope, equally prodigal in his gifts, though more crafty in the source from whence he drew them, bestowed upon him in return the two grand priories of Castile and St. Gilles; a gift the cost of which fell exclusively upon the unfortunate Order of St. John, whose council beheld with indignation all the principal dignities in their gift heaped upon a man who had proved himself a traitor to their interests.

After the death of Innocent, and during the sway of his successor, Urban V., Heredia perceived that his influence at the Papal court was sensibly declining; and after the election of Gregory XI. it became still further curtailed; he therefore bethought him that it would be wise to provide himself an honourable retirement in his old age, away from the scene of political turmoil, in the midst of which he had for so many years been plunged, and he cast his eyes upon the Grand-Mastership of Rhodes as precisely suited to his purpose. The death of Julliac presented him with an appropriate opportunity for carrying his designs into execution. Availing himself of the vast interest which his position had secured for him amongst the cardinals and others, whose voices were likely to influence the Knights in their selection, he caused himself to be put in nomination. The council had so often felt the weight of his influence when exerted prejudicially to themselves, that they were not slow in perceiving the policy of disarming his potent antagonism, by linking his interests indissolubly with their own. That he was the most able man by far for the dignity then within the ranks of the fraternity was

universally admitted; and so, after much bitter and acrimonious discussion, he eventually beheld himself duly elected to the post he coveted, and to which it had hitherto appeared so improbable that he should ever attain.

It was at this time that Gregory carried into execution the project he had long entertained of restoring the seat of the Papacy to Rome. A period of seventy years had now elapsed since Clement V. had removed it to Avignon; and he began to perceive, that unless some such measure were adopted, the allegiance of the City of the Seven Hills would in all probability be lost to him for ever. The Pope was escorted in his voyage from Marseilles to Italy by the new Grand-Master, who had assembled a fleet of eight galleys to accompany him on his return to Rhodes. It is recorded that Heredia himself, venerable from age, steered the galley in which his Holiness was embarked; and, having encountered a severe tempest in the Gulf of Lyons, that he displayed the most excellent seamanship in extricating his vessel from its perilous position. Having seen the Pope securely established in his new home, Heredia took his leave, and proceeded on his way to the East.

Whilst off the coast of the Morea, he encountered a Venetian fleet, then on their way to Patras, a city famous for its commerce in silk, which had belonged to the Venetian republic, but which had been recently captured by the Turks. The object of this expedition was the recapture of the place, and the Venetian general, overjoyed at his encounter with the Grand-Master's fleet, implored him to assist him in the undertaking. Although Heredia felt that his presence was earnestly required at Rhodes, and though, from his age, he might well have

been excused from forming any such alliance, the fire of his chivalry burnt as brightly as in the days of his youth, and casting aside all ideas of prudence, he entered willingly into the views of the Venetians. The allied fleets having reached their new destination, disembarked their forces, who marched directly upon Patras, which was situated about a mile from the sea-shore. The town fell at the first assault; but the castle, which was fortified with extreme strength, defied all attempts at an escalade. Nothing short of a regular siege would suffice for its capture. This was therefore commenced in regular form, and, through the vigour of Heredia, pushed on with extreme rapidity. A breach was no sooner established in a practicable part of the walls, than, weary with the delay which had taken place, and irritated at the losses his force had sustained, he at once directed an assault to be made. Impetuous in his valour, in spite of his years, he was the first to plant a ladder on the point of attack, and, by its means, mounting on the breach, forced his way into the city, before he could be followed by any of his knights. The first person he encountered, upon entering the rampart, was the Turkish commandant, and between these two chiefs a desperate struggle ensued, which ended fatally for the Turk, Heredia cutting off his head, and bearing it away in triumph. The loss of their leader having disheartened the Turks, a very slender resistance was made, and the completion of the capture of Patras was with facility accomplished.

Unfortunately, however, for Heredia, he was induced by the Venetians to extend his conquests still further in the Morea, and the city of Corinth was selected as the next point of attack. Whilst making a reconnais-

sance before this place, with a very slender escort, Heredia was surprised by an ambuscade of the enemy, and, after a most energetic resistance, he was captured and carried into the city. The Christian chiefs were so dismayed at this event, that they offered the restoration of Patras as his ransom. This, however, the Turks refused, asserting that they should speedily recapture the town for themselves; upon which the Christians, in addition to their former offer, proposed to pay a large sum of money, and to leave the three Grand-Priors of England, St. Gilles, and Rome, who were then with the army, as hostages for its payment. These terms would have been accepted by the Turks, had not Heredia peremptorily forbidden it, stating, that it was better that an old man like himself should perish in slavery, than that three more youthful and valuable members should be lost to the Order. He also declined the payment of any ransom out of the public treasury, asserting that he had sufficiently enriched his own family, to enable them to come to his assistance at this hour of his need. No entreaties could change the indomitable resolution of the gallant old man, and his companions were reluctantly compelled to leave him in the hands of the enemy, where he remained for a period of three years, until, in 1381, he was ransomed by his family, and thus enabled to return to Rhodes.*

During his captivity, a schism had sprung up in the Church, which was destined to have a most pernicious

* Bosio asserts that Heredia was eventually induced to permit of his ransom being effected by the Order, pending the arrival of the necessary funds from his family in Spain; and that the three Grand-Priors were left as hostages, until the payment was duly completed. —*Bosio*, par. ii. lib. iii. anno 1378.

effect upon the Order of St. John. At the death of Gregory, the populace of Rome, fearful lest the cardinals then assembled for the election of his successor should select a pontiff who would re-transfer the seat of government to Avignon, compelled them, by the most open and glaring intimidation, to nominate an Italian prelate, the Neapolitan Archbishop of Bara. This priest ascended the Papal throne under the title of Urban VI; and, in spite of the protests which were made against the validity of his election, commenced the exercise of his office. The cardinals had no sooner escaped from their thraldom in Rome than they at once re-assembled in a secure spot, and, invalidating their former appointment upon the score of intimidation, proceeded to elect Robert, brother of the Count of Geneva, whom they at once crowned under the title of Clement VII. The rival pontiffs fulminated their ecclesiastical thunders, each at the adherents of his opponent, with the most edifying vigour, and the schism rapidly spread through the whole of Europe. Heredia, upon his release from captivity, declared at once in favour of Clement, in which he was joined by the convent at Rhodes and the French and Spanish languages. The Italians, Germans, and English, on the other hand, joined the party of Urban, and thus the dispute found its way into the heart of the Order. As a still further complication of affairs, Pope Urban, in revenge for Heredia's declaration in favour of his rival, formally deposed him, and, of his own authority, nominated Richard Carracciolo, prior of Capua, as his successor. It has been a disputed point, how far Carracciolo can be considered a legitimate Grand-Master, some writers having recognised his claim to the dignity, whilst others ignore him altogether. As, however, the

deposition of Heredia, and the election of Carracciolo, never emanated from the council of the Order, but were the arbitrary acts of a pontiff whose title was not recognised by the majority of the fraternity, there can be little doubt that his nomination was invalid, and that Heredia still remained the legitimate Grand-Master. This view of the case is materially strengthened by the fact, that after the death of Carracciolo, which took place prior to that of Heredia, Boniface IX., who had succeeded Urban, refrained from nominating a new chief, contenting himself by making his near relation, Boniface of Caramandra, lieutenant of the Order. He also annulled the appointments conferred by Carracciolo in order to remove, as far as practicable, all further cause for schism.

During these disputes and disorders, Heredia found that it was impossible to enforce due obedience to his authority from the European commanders. Availing themselves of the doubtful nature of his position, they neglected to pay their responsions; and, rejecting all submission to the decrees of the council, assumed an independence most fatal to the interests of the fraternity. Under these circumstances, Heredia was requested to return to Avignon, to seek at the hands of Pope Clement the means of reducing the refractory commanders to submission. Mindful of the bad use which he had once previously, on a similar occasion, made of his authority, the council, prior to his departure, extracted from him a pledge that he would faithfully remit to the public treasury all the responsions which he might collect; and that he might hasten his return to Rhodes, they decreed that, during his absence, he should not have the power to nominate to any of the vacant dignities of the

Order. They carried their precautions still further, by selecting four Knights to accompany him, ostensibly as an escort, but in reality as a check upon his movements. Their suspicions were, however, groundless. Heredia, as Grand-Master, was very different from the young and ambitious Knight, who had still his fortune to make, and his way to push in the world. At his request, the Pope summoned several general councils at Avignon, at all of which he presided, and where many beneficial regulations were enacted. By his precept and example, he succeeded in recalling a great majority of the recusants to their duty, and obtained for the treasury the payment of many arrears in the responsions.

As, at this time, both Smyrna and Rhodes were threatened by an invasion from the Turks, he despatched to both places, at his own cost, vessels laden with provisions and munitions of war; and he also made several foundations in favour of his Order in the kingdom of Aragon. At length, in the year 1396, Heredia, bowed with years and the anxieties of his office, sank into the grave universally regretted and beloved by all his fraternity. The virtues and good deeds of his old age had so far obliterated the reminiscence of what he had been during the earlier portion of his career, that men forbore to think on all the wrongs which he had wrought upon them in former times, whilst contemplating the advantages and the prosperity which, during his sway of twenty years, he had been the means of promoting.

He was, in truth, a strange compound of good and evil; greedy of wealth, he was yet no miser, scattering with a lavish hand, and with the most magnificent profusion, those treasures which he had toiled so in-

cessantly to amass. Ambitious in the highest degree, he scrupled not as to the means he employed in attaining power; yet, having gained the highest dignity which the Order could bestow, he used that power only for the public weal and the most benevolent purposes. Indeed, both his ambition and his rapacity were stimulated more for the benefit of his children than for himself, since, their position in life once fairly established, much of the eagerness with which he had followed the pursuit of both wealth and power seems to have subsided, and to have left him, in his old age, leisure to earn for himself the high position which he undoubtedly occupies as one of the greatest and wisest of those who had as yet swayed the fortunes of the Order of St. John.

CHAP. IX.

THE THREE DIVISIONS OF THE ORDER AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT SUBDIVISIONS. — THE PROOFS FOR ADMISSION INTO THE FIRST CLASS. — AUTHORITY OF THE GRAND-MASTER. — COURTS OF ÉGARD. — BAILIFFS AND THEIR LIEUTENANTS. — FACILITIES OF THE ORDER IN ADAPTING ITSELF TO LOCALITIES. — REPORT OF PHILIP DE THAME. — INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF A COMMANDERY. MANSION. GARDEN. COLUMBARIUM. ARABLE, MEADOW, AND PASTURE LANDS. MESSUAGES AND MILLS. — PROFITS OF STOCK. — IMPROPRIATE CHURCHES. — VILLAINAGE. — REDDITUS ASSISUS. — CONFRARIA. — OUTLAY FOR HOSPITALITY AND MAINTENANCE. — WAGES. — CLOTHING. — CORRODY. — LAW CHARGES. — REVENUE OF ENGLISH PROPERTY.

During the three centuries which had elapsed between the first establishment of the Order of St. John and the period at which we have now arrived, many important changes had gradually crept into its organisation.

It has already been stated that at its first institution three great divisions of the fraternity were decreed, by which they were ranked under the heads of Knights, Chaplains, and Serving Brothers. Of these, the second class, namely, the chaplains, gradually became subdivided into two ranks, of which one included what were termed the conventual chaplains, and the other priests of obedience. The former were especially attached to the convent itself, and performed all the ecclesiastical duties required at the head-quarters of the

Order, whilst the latter carried on such parochial duties as were incident to their profession in their numerous European commanderies. The serving brothers, also, soon became subdivided into two classes, distinguishing those who entered the Order in this rank, with the hope of winning their spurs under the White Cross banner, and thus obtaining admission into the first class, from those who, owing to a want of the advantages of birth, were unable to enter in any other capacity.* At a general chapter, held in 1357, under the Grand-Mastership of Roger de Pins, the former of these two subdivisions was abolished, it being then decreed that no member of the class of serving brothers should be eligible for promotion into the Knighthood of the Order.

As time wore on, and the advantages of birth became more and more considered, the regulations for admission into the first class became gradually increased in stringency. The insignia of the belted Knight were no longer deemed a sufficient guarantee

* Fratrum nostrorum triplex est differentia. Alii enim sunt milites, alii sacerdotes, alii servientes. Sacerdotum autem et servientium status rursus in duo dividitur: Sacerdotum, in sacerdotes conventuales, et sacerdotes obedientia. Servientium, in servientes armorum, videlicet in conventio receptos,—et servientes officii vel stagii. Qui vero sub gradu militiæ ad hoc idoneus et aptus, pro formâ statutorum et consuetudinum, ad professionem nostri ordinis admitti postulabit, priusquam habitum suscipiat, et professionem faciat, cingulo militiæ decoretur necesse est. Si autem ab aliquo principe Catholice, aut altero, facultatem militiam præstandi habente, militiæ insignia non fuerit adeptus, a fratre milite ordinis nostri suam professionem recipiente, aut altero fratre milite militiæ hujusmodi insignia, secundum consuetudinem militiam præstandi recipiat: et demum ordine præfato ineat professionem.—*Consuetudo Ord. Sac. Mil. Sanct. Johan. Geros.*

for the introduction of the wearer; it was necessary that he should adduce proofs of the nobility of his descent before he could claim admission as a Knight of justice in the Order of St. John. These proofs were of four kinds, viz., testimonial, literal, local, and secret. The testimonial proof was so called from its being the testimony of four witnesses, themselves gentlemen by birth, who guaranteed the nobility of the candidate; the literal proof was gained from title deeds, or other legal documents; the local proof was obtained by commissioners appointed by the Order, whose duty it was to inform themselves, in the country where the candidate was born, as to his descent; and the secret proof consisted of an inquiry, made by the same commissioners, without his knowledge. In the various languages these proofs of nobility differed materially: four quarters only being requisite in the English, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages; eight quarters in the French; and in the German, no less than sixteen. The stringency of these regulations was never afterwards materially relaxed, though in some cases an exception was made for wealthy candidates, whose parentage was not sufficiently exalted to bear the requisite test. This innovation, however, only crept in after the establishment of the princely mercantile families who formed the main stay of the Venetian and Genoese republics.

In addition to this grand division of the Order, we have seen that, during the Grand-Mastership of Elyon de Villanova in 1331, the fraternity were separated into seven languages, and before the expiration of many years, an eighth was added to the number, viz., that of Castile and Portugal, which were combined to form a single language. The only alteration which took

place in this classification, occurred at a later period than that of which we have yet treated, when the Reformation in England having annihilated the status of that language, it was, towards the close of the eighteenth century joined to Bavaria, and received thenceforth the title of Anglo-Bavarian.

The supreme head of this institution, comprising amidst its members the natives of almost every country in Europe, was the Grand-Master. The position of this dignitary in the scale of potentates varied greatly, according to the fluctuations in the fortunes of his Order. During their residence in Palestine, he was possessed of a very powerful voice in the councils of that kingdom, sharing with the Grand-Masters of the other two Orders almost the entire direction of affairs. His influence, however, in Europe was, during this time, but slight. It is true that he possessed landed property to a considerable extent in every country, which property naturally gave him a certain amount of influence in its vicinity; still, residing as he did at a point so far remote from the centre of European politics, that influence could rarely be exercised in any great degree. When the expulsion of the Latins from Syria compelled the fraternity to seek a new home, and led to the establishment of the Order in the sovereignty of the island of Rhodes, their influence in the East gradually diminished as the prospects of the re-establishment of a Latin kingdom grew more and more hopeless: on the other hand, the barrier thus set up to the encroachments of the Infidel on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, led to the admission of the Knights of Rhodes as by no means an unimportant member of the body politic of Europe, and the Grand-Master, as their head, found the con-

sideration with which he was treated rapidly increased. The subsequent transfer of their government from the island of Rhodes to that of Malta, led to a still further augmentation of this influence, and we shall eventually find him not only arrogating to himself the rank and privileges of a sovereign prince, but actually in correspondence, upon terms nearly of equality, with the various potentates of Europe.

It is curious to mark how, during these successive ages, the authority which the Pope exercised over the actions of the Order became gradually reduced in extent. Constituted originally as a religious establishment, they owed their earliest organisation wholly to the fiat of his will, and, during the first two centuries of their existence, appear never to have disputed his authority on any matter in which he may have been pleased to exercise it. Indeed, it was to the fostering approval of so many successive pontiffs that the Order was indebted for the first germs of that power into which they subsequently expanded themselves; and as by the expression of that approval the successor of St. Peter had been enabled to obtain for his protégés a support which carried them triumphantly through all the difficulties of their position, so there is but little doubt that the exercise of the same power, on his part, in an antagonistic direction, would have been equally successful in crushing them to the earth. Time, however, brought great changes in their relative position; many rude shocks diminished the extent of his authority, whilst each successive generation augmented the influence of the military friars. Step by step they gradually shook off the dictational yoke of Papal domination, until eventually his sovereign authority became little more than nominal,

and the Grand-Master ruled over the island in which his fraternity were located with the absolute power of a despot.

The rules of the institution, however, do not appear to have contemplated any autocratic sway on the part of their chief over the members of his own Order, they being framed so as to mark the extreme jealousy with which they were intended to limit his authority. Even after the possession of the island of Malta had established him in the rank of a sovereign prince, and enabled him to maintain an ambassador in all the principal courts of Europe, his powers over the members of his own fraternity were so limited as to render his position often extremely difficult to support. The doctrine laid down in these regulations appears to have been that the sovereignty was vested in the Order generally, and not in the Grand-Master personally: in fact, he was only esteemed as the first among his equals, or, to quote the language laid down in the statutes, "*primus inter pares.*" The principle of the Habeas Corpus, so justly prized by Englishmen as the sheet-anchor of their liberties, was carried out to its fullest extent in these statutes; it being illegal for the Grand-Master to detain a Knight in custody for more than twenty-four hours without bringing him to trial. Nor did the vow of obedience taken by a candidate at his profession, give his superior that power over his actions which might have been expected, since he was permitted, in case he disapproved of any order which he received, to appeal to the Court of Égard, and to persist in his disobedience until its sentence should have been pronounced.

The Court of Égard was originally established as a tribunal, before which any dispute arising between mem-

bers of the fraternity might be brought to trial or arbitration. It had its origin at a very early date in the annals of the institution, and although, as time wore on and brought changes into the constitution of the Order, certain alterations in the composition of the Égard were also introduced, still it always remained the same in principle, and, until the last years of their existence, this court continued to be the principal, nay, the only court of appeal, before which the Knights sought redress for their grievances.

It was composed of one member selected out of every language, whose appointment rested with the languages themselves, and over whom a president was placed, nominated by the Grand-Master. On the assembling of the Égard, either of the disputants had the right of challenge, the exceptionable person in such a case being changed for another in the same language. The cause having been fully gone into, the depositions of the witnesses, which were always oral, and not allowed to be taken down in writing, were summed up. In this state of the process the parties were ordered to withdraw, and the members of the Égard discussed the merits of the case in closed court, and they then gave in their verdict by ballot. On the parties being recalled into court, and before the issue of the balloting was known, they were asked whether they were willing to abide by the award of the Égard: if they consented, the state of the ballot was examined, and whoever had the majority of votes carried his cause. Should, however, either of the parties have refused to abide by the award, the votes were nevertheless still examined and recorded; and a new court was assembled, which was to act as a tribunal of appeal from the first. This was called the *renfort of the Égard*,

and its constitution was precisely similar to that of the first, with the exception, that the number of members was doubled. From the decision of this court an appeal lay with a third, which was called the *renfort of the renfort*, in which there were three members of each language; the president in all three courts continuing the same. Should either of the parties still continue dissatisfied, a court of ultimate appeal was appointed, whose decision was final. This was called the *bailiffs' Égard* and was composed of the conventual bailiffs, or in the absence of any of their number, of the lieutenants who supplied their places, over whom the Grand-Master nominated a president. He was in no case, however, to be the same who had acted in that capacity in the three preceding Égards. The decision of this court being final, the sentence was carried into execution immediately after the promulgation of the verdict.

It would be difficult to conceive a court of equity more admirably calculated to carry out the purposes for which it was created than this, combining as it did all those principles of jurisprudence which modern civilisation has stamped with the seal of its approval. The doctrine that every man should be tried by his peers was thoroughly recognised in the constitution of the various courts, and the decision not resting with any individual member, but gathered from the votes of the entire court, gave it all the leading features of a trial by jury. The possibility of any prejudice or favouritism, arising from a community of language and consequent national partiality, was obviated by the precautions adopted in the nomination of the members. The right of appeal was also guaranteed in the most complete manner; the constitution of the tribunal assuming in

each case a broader basis, until there remained not the shadow of a possibility of an inequitable conclusion. The proof how admirably these courts performed their functions lies in that surest of all tests, the test of experience. For a period of nearly seven centuries the organisation of the courts of Égard remained unaltered, and, at the time of the expulsion of the Order from the island of Malta by the French, at the close of the eighteenth century, the same principles regulated their formation as those which were promulgated at their original establishment.

Immediately subordinate to the Grand-Master in the governance of the fraternity, were the Bailiffs or Grand-Crosses of the Order. These dignitaries were of three kinds, viz., the Conventual Bailiffs, the Capitular Bailiffs, and the bailiffs "ad honores," or Honorary Bailiffs. The first named of these received the title from the fact of its being their duty to reside continuously at the convent. There was one for each of the languages into which the Order was divided, and of these they were severally regarded as the immediate chiefs and governors. Their election lay not with the Grand-Master, but with the Knights of their own language, and the principle of seniority was generally, though not always, recognised in the selection. The Capitular Bailiffs were not compelled to reside in the convent, where their attendance was only required on the occasion of a general chapter; but, on the contrary, their duties usually led to a constant residence in their European commanderies. The grand-priors, who had been nominated in each language to superintend and control the commanderies placed within their jurisdiction, were all ex-officio Capi-

tular Bailiffs. In the English language there were two of these Grand-Crosses, viz., the Grand-Prior of England and the Grand-Prior of Ireland. The bailiffs "ad honores" were selected indiscriminately, either by a general chapter, or, in its default, by the Grand-Master in council under the sanction of a bull from the Pope. This prerogative was eventually found highly inconvenient, for the princes of Europe were constantly urging the Grand-Master to its exercise in favour of those whose interests they were desirous to advance; and during the later years of the existence of the Order the privilege was abandoned. Upon this the Pope took upon himself to claim the right thus yielded by the Grand-Master, and carried its abuse to such a length that great exception was taken to his nominations, and this gradually led to the almost entire abandonment of the privilege. The bailiwick of the Eagle was an honorary Grand-Cross always reserved for the English language, thus giving to that nation four grand-crosses, viz., the Conventual Bailiff, two Capitular Bailiffs, and one Honorary Bailiff.

The conventual bailiffs each of them held ex-officio an important post in the active government of the fraternity. Thus the Bailiff of Provence was the Grand-Commander: this office involved his being president of the common treasury, comptroller of the accounts, superintendent of stores, governor of the arsenal, and master of the ordnance. The Bailiff of Auvergne occupied the post of Grand-Marshal: he was the military head, or commander-in-chief, as well of the naval forces as of the army; and the grand standard of the Order, that white-cross banner so frequently alluded to in the previous pages, and which had waved over so many

a nobly fought field, was entrusted to his charge. The Bailiff of France was the Grand-Hospitaller, under whose control came, as the name imports, the direction of the hospitals and infirmaries of the Order. The Bailiff of Italy was the Grand-Admiral, who had the general superintendence, not only of the navy, but also of the army, in both cases under the supreme direction of the Grand-Marshal. The Bailiff of Aragon was the Grand-Conservator: the duties of this officer were nearly analogous to those of the commissariat in a modern army. The Bailiff of Germany was Grand-Bailiff of the Order, and his jurisdiction was that of chief engineer. The Bailiff of Castile and Portugal was Grand-Chancellor, the duties of which post were very similar to those of the Lord-Chancellor in modern governments. The Bailiff of England was the Turcopolier, or chief of the light cavalry.

It has been a matter of some dispute as to what was the real signification or derivation of the term Turcopolier, and whom it was intended to designate. The most probable of the numerous explanations given on this head appears to be that of Ducange, who states in his glossary that the word Turcopolier is derived from πουλος, the Greek for a child; the term being thus considered to signify the child of a Turkish parent. They were in all probability the children of Christian fathers by Turkish mothers, and having been brought up in the faith of Christ, they were retained in the pay of the military Orders; where, "being lightly armed, clothed in the Arabic style, inured to the climate, well acquainted with the country and with the Mussulman mode of warfare, they were found extremely serviceable as light cavalry and skirmishers, and consequently always at-

tached to the war battalions." * The earliest record now in existence in which mention is made of an English Turcopolier is dated in 1328, when an English Knight named John of Builbrulx was appointed to the office; and from this date till 1660 the post was invariably filled by an Englishman.

There appears no satisfactory way of accounting for the arbitrary attachment of a peculiar office to each different language, more especially when we consider that many of these posts would seem to have required much technical professional knowledge, and should in common sense have been held by men selected from their fitness for the appointment. It would certainly have appeared more in accordance with the dictates of reason to have selected as chief engineer a man who had made the science of engineering, as then known and practised, his peculiar study, rather than to have given the appointment to the Bailiff of Germany, when that dignitary may perhaps have been ignorant of even the simplest rudiments of the profession. The only solution to this apparent incongruity seems to be that it was intended, by thus apportioning the various dignities in the gift of the Order amongst the languages, to prevent the jealousies and cabals which would inevitably have arisen upon the occasion of every vacancy. Again, as the Grand-Master, although not actually possessing the gift of these offices, from his position, must have been enabled to influence the selection in a great degree; and as that influence would most probably have been exercised in favour of members of his own language, the result would have been completely to overthrow the balance of power be-

* Addison's History of the Templars.

tween the various nationalities of which the institution was composed. The simplest method to avoid so undesirable a consummation was certainly that which appears to have been adopted; and although it must probably have had the effect of producing an inferior class of officers, it must have been perfectly successful in maintaining the relative influence of the different languages, a matter of the most vital importance to the welfare of the institution. It is also difficult to account for the selection of the various offices thus attached to the several languages. The French element having always had a very preponderating influence in the councils of the Order, it was but natural that the three leading dignities should have been attached to the three languages into which that nation was divided; but as regards the other five nations, no such solution can be given. It may have been that the offices held by the different languages at the time when their separation and apportionment were decreed were from that moment permanently attached to them. This suggestion is somewhat strengthened from the fact that it is known that the office of Turcopolier was given in the year 1328 to an English Knight; and at the general division in 1331 it was permanently appropriated to that language. This may therefore have also been the case with the other nations.

Lieutenants were nominated in each language, in the same manner as the bailiffs, whose duty it was to act for the bailiffs, and to occupy their position during their absence from the convent, or when they were incapacitated by sickness from attending to their duties in person.

As every Knight, upon making his profession, took

the oath of poverty, the reversion of all his worldly possessions, from that moment, merged into the public coffers; the statutes, however, in order to enable him to make some provision for the ties of consanguinity, permitted him to dispose, by will, of one-fifth of his property, the remainder being carried to the credit of the public treasury. This source of revenue, which was very considerable, was termed mortuary; and in the annual balance-sheets of the Order, figured for very extensive sums. In the case of a Knight not possessing a sufficient income for his maintenance in a style becoming his dignity, and not having attained, by his seniority, to the right of a commandery, he was attached to the Inn of his language at the convent, or to one of the commanderies in his native country, where he was clothed, housed, and fed, free of expense to himself. In some cases a pecuniary allowance was also granted to him.

The property held by the Order in the various countries of Europe was, for the convenience of superintendence and government, divided into estates of moderate extent, denominated commanderies. Several members were attached to each of these estates in various capacities, and at its head was placed a brother, in whose hands was vested its supreme control, and who bore the title of Commander. Although a post of great importance and responsibility, and one which was highly lucrative to its holder, it was not necessarily held by a member of the first class; a certain number of the commanderies in every language having been expressly reserved for the two lower grades. The commander was bound to exercise the most rigid superintendence of the estate under his control, and without reference to

its actual revenue at the moment, he was compelled to remit to the public treasury the amount of responsions for which his commandery was held liable. Grand Priors were appointed in each language, under whose surveillance a certain number of commanderies were placed, and who received the revenues as they became due, remitting them to the treasury of the Order, through the medium of receivers, nominated to act in the capacity of bankers, in the various central cities of Europe. The Grand-Prior was bound to make a personal visit, at least once in every five years, to each commandery within his district, and he had full authority to correct all abuses, as also to order such renewals, alterations, and improvements, as appeared to him advisable.

It is an interesting study to observe how the system of this institution adapted itself to the varied circumstances of the localities in which it was situated. In Palestine there were pilgrims to be tended, and sick to be nursed; in addition to which there was a constant and harassing warfare to be waged, without a respite, against the Infidel. We find, therefore, that in this part of the globe, the Hospitaller in his barrack convent was half monk, half soldier; at one time clad in the black mantle of his order, he might be seen seated by the pallet of the humble and lonely wanderer, and breathing into an ear that might perhaps be shortly closed to all earthly sounds, the consolations of that common faith which they both professed, and which had drawn them both to that distant spot, so far from all the ties of home and kindred. At another moment he might be seen mounted on his gallant steed, clad in burnished steel, brandishing his falchion with all the enthusiasm

of chivalric ardour, and hewing a pathway for himself and his brave companions through the opposing barrier of Infidel battalions. The spirit of the times was suited to such transformations; and the institution, in thus adapting itself to that spirit, laid the first foundation of its future grandeur and eminence.

In later years, when the fraternity established themselves first in the island of Rhodes, and subsequently in that of Malta, we find great changes rapidly made in their organisation, habits, and duties of life. The Hospitals were still maintained and tended; but they no longer constituted an important branch of the Knights' duties; there were no harassed and weary pilgrims to sustain and support: the sick had dwindled into the ordinary casualties incident to the population of a small island. The Knight was no more seen in his iron panoply, forming one of the dense array of that squadron who, under the banner of the cross, had so often struck dismay into the ranks of the enemy; but having established himself in his island home he commenced to fortify the stronghold of his power. Battlement after battlement speedily arose; the skill of engineering science was exhausted to produce fresh defences, or to increase those which nature had adapted to his purpose. The fortresses of Rhodes and Malta remain an imperishable record of the energy, the perseverance, and the skill with which he prosecuted these labours; until at length, like the eagle from her eyrie on the inaccessible height, he looked down upon the blue expanse of the Mediterranean and called it all his own. In every corner of that sea the flag of his Order waved, alike the terror of the Infidel and the bulwark of Christianity. On the waters of this his new kingdom,

he trod the deck of his galley, every inch a sailor; and few who saw him now could recognise in the hardy mariner of the Levant the warrior monk of Palestine, whom indeed he resembled only in the indomitable perseverance of his will.

Whilst these changes were taking place in the external characteristics of the brotherhood, at their convent home, first in Syria and afterwards in the Mediterranean, another sphere was at the same time opened for the display of their peculiar faculties in adapting themselves to the varieties of circumstance and locality. Having been originally formed into a body of which it had been contemplated that one of the leading features should be the poverty of its members, they had ended in acquiring a wealth almost fabulous in its extent. True, the individual still remained bereft of all distinct and separate possessions; and the acquisitions thus rapidly falling within their eager grasp were the property of the community; and it was under cover of this vague generalisation that they sheltered themselves from the apparent inconsistency of their vows. Whilst, however, disclaiming all personal participation in the benefits of their wealth, they were never found backward in turning it to the greatest possible advantage to themselves; and as, in addition to its privileges, that property had likewise its duties, the due performance of which was imperatively demanded of its holders, so we find the Hospitaller, in his European commandery, abandoning the chivalric aspirations of the Syrian Crusader, and the reckless intrepidity of the island seaman, and appearing under a totally different aspect, as a lord of the manor, and a wary steward of the property of his fraternity.

Nor was the duty thus imposed upon him by any means an easy task. The mere existence of these bands of warrior monks, acting under an organisation of their own, and almost entirely freed from all external control, was a source of bitter contention, on the part of the powers that be, in every land where they had gained a footing. Freed by the control of papal bulls from most of the restrictions imposed upon the laity, and yet only half acknowledging the authority of the Church; holding extensive properties in a land to the crown of which they paid no just allegiance, and the revenues of which they forwarded for expenditure in a distant country, and for foreign objects; at the same time refusing to the Church those tithes which she gleaned from all her other votaries; they were equally dreaded by the king, who scarce knew whether they were to be regarded as friend or foe, and hated by the genuine ecclesiastic, who looked upon them as unauthorised encroachers, despoiling the Church of that property which the piety of her sons might otherwise have dedicated to her use. It was indeed a difficult matter for the commander to steer a middle course, and undeterred by dangers or threats from the monarch on the one hand, or the mitred ecclesiastic on the other, to pursue the even tenor of his way, and with calm steadiness and perseverance, to carry on that process of extraction for which he had been appointed to his office.

In different countries this process must of course have varied; still the leading features of the operation were undoubtedly the same; and we are fortunate in being enabled to form a very accurate notion of what this process was, from a report which was drawn up in 1338, by the grand-prior of England, brother Philip de

Thame, to the Grand-Master Elyon de Villanova.* The picture which this document affords of the stewardship of landed property in England, in the fourteenth century, is most valuable; and a careful study of its contents will give the reader a very accurate representation of the position of agriculture in all its various branches at that period. The document is a record of income and outlay, and under one or other of these two heads is classed all the information which it contains.

In each bailiwick or manor the first item mentioned, under the head of income, is the mansion, with its kitchen-garden and orchard. The house itself was of course a source of no positive revenue; although, in so far as it precluded the necessity of any outlay on the score of rent, it must be considered as valuable: the garden and orchard, however, appear in every instance to have been more or less productive beyond the consumption of the household. The amount varied from a few shillings up to nearly a pound; but rarely reached the latter sum. A considerable source of profit appears to have been the columbarium or dovecote; which in some cases was rated to produce as much as thirty shillings; from five shillings to half a mark (six and eightpence) being, however, the usual average.

Next on the list stands the rent received from arable and meadow land; the former of which varied from two shillings an acre in Lincoln and Kent, down as low as

* This report, which exists in manuscript in the Record Office at Malta, has been recently printed by the Camden Society, under the title of "The Hospitallers in England." The original manuscript is in perfect preservation; and although somewhat difficult to decipher, from its crabbed and contracted Latinity, still the writing is as distinct and clear as on the day when it was first penned.

three halfpence in the counties of Somerset and Norfolk; whilst the meadow land seldom fell to a lower amount than two shillings the acre, and in the counties of Warwick and Oxford it even reached three shillings. The value of pasture land was calculated not by the acre, but by the head of cattle: the average receipt on this score may be assumed at something like the following scale:—

An ox or a horse	12*d.*
A cow	24*d.*
A sheep	1*d.*
A calf	6*d.*
A goat	¾*d.*

Messuages, mills, and fisheries stand next on the list, and do not require any special explanation; their character being plainly indicated by their name. The profit of stock afforded a very considerable source of revenue. This appears to be the return produced by the cattle, bred and fattened on the home farm. In more than one entry we find that, through the devastation of enemies, the damage done by inundations and other causes, the stock has returned no appreciable profit.

A considerable source of income was derived from the churches and chapels appropriated to the Order, whose funds were paid into the public coffers; vicars and chaplains being provided at their expense. A glance at the figures recorded under this head will show that, as is the case with many parishes in modern times, the lay impropriators gleaned the lion's share in the substance originally intended for the support of the church. In the case of sixteen of these churches, the amount paid to the credit of the Order was no less than 241*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*;

whilst the cost of providing chaplains, as defrayed by them, was only 34*l.* 10*s.* Truly this grievous anomaly, which in the present day finds so many earnest and eloquent opponents, both within and without the walls of parliament, can at least claim the excuse of antiquity, when in the early part of the fourteenth century we already find it existing to so great an extent.

At this period, the system of villainage, or the compulsory service of bond-tenants, was universal throughout Europe; we consequently find it figuring very extensively on the credit side of our balance sheet. These services were generally rendered either by payments in kind, such as poultry, eggs, corn, &c., or by the giving of a certain amount of labour for the benefit of the lord of the manor. As these latter have almost invariably been entered in the accounts as money payments, there can be no doubt that a fixed commutation had been agreed to between landlord and tenant, whereby the former secured for himself a certain and settled revenue, and the latter was protected from the caprice of his lord, who might otherwise have demanded his services at the very time when his own crops required his attention. From an entry which occurs in the manor of Shaldeford, the price at which this labour was commuted may be gathered, it being there fixed at twopence per diem, the gross amount received throughout England on this head being 184*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

We next come to the rent paid by the freeholders; the entry for which comes under the heading of *redditus assisus*, and in only one case is its nature specified, where, in the bailiwick of Godsfeld, in the county of Hampshire, it is distinctly stated to be rent for houses

in the two towns of Portsmouth and Southampton. The profits arising from the fees and perquisites paid to the manor courts have caused an entry in almost every bailiwick, and in some places amounted to considerable sums. An officer, named steward of the manor, was appointed for these dues.

There yet remains one item of income to be explained, which was of a different character to the others, and could only have had an existence under an ecclesiastical régime. This is a voluntary contribution from the neighbourhood, and is entered under the name of *confraria*; the mode of collection is not specified, but it is presumed that, in a similar manner to that practised at the present day by many monastic institutions in Roman Catholic countries, a house to house visitation was annually made, for the purpose of extorting the charity of the pious. The amount thus scraped together by the wealthy mendicants of St. John, from the over-taxed and harassed commons of England, amounts to very close upon 900*l.*; and that this sum was less than that which had frequently been previously obtained, may be gathered from several entries where the smallness of the contributions, under this head, are accounted for by the poverty of the country and the heavy taxes payable to the king for the support of his navy.*

* Item ibidem collecta, que semel fit per annum, in diversis ecclesiis, que vocatur confraria, et ad voluntatem hominum si velint aliquid contribuere necne, quia non possunt compelli ad contribuendum, et solebat valere per annum 27 marcas (18*l.*), et aliquando plus et aliquando minus, et nunc in presenti, propter paupertatem communitatis regni et propter diversas oppressiones ut in tallas (sic) contributionibus domino regi pro defensione maris et lanis quas dominus rex capit per totam terram, non possunt levari nunc nisi et vix 10 li. (10*l.*)—Extract from revenue account of Grenham, *Hospitallers in England*, 1338.

Having thus recapitulated the various items which stood on the credit side of the balance sheet, it will be well to enumerate those which constituted the contra side of the ledger. The first and principal expense, chargeable upon the funds of the Order, is that for maintenance of the household. In every bailiwick there was one preceptor, in whose charge rested the entire estate; and attached to him were other brethren who were called *confratres*. These, together with the chaplains, formed the first class in the establishment, and a table was provided for their separate use. In fact, there appear to have been three different tables at which, according to their rank, the members of the establishment had their commons; the first of which was that already mentioned; the second, for the free servants of the Order; and the third, for the hinds or labourers kept in their employ. The principal portion of the provisions consumed at these tables was provided from the stock of the estate, and consequently cost nothing; in addition to this, however, there very generally appears an item, under the head of *coquina*, for the supply of meat and fish, over and above that drawn from the estate. Three different kinds of bread were supplied for the three different tables, namely, white bread, ration bread, and black bread. There were also two classes of beer, the *melior* and the *secunda*. In addition to their keep, the preceptor and his confratres had a yearly allowance for their dress; and as this was the same in amount in each preceptory, it may be assumed that it had been fixed by authority. It consists of 1*l*. for a robe, 6*s*. 8*d*. for a mantle, and 8*s*. for other expenses. The members of the household had each a pecuniary stipend, in addition to their keep, which amount not only varied greatly for the different

classes, but also for the same classes in different commanderies. The highest in rank appears to be the armiger, who in some instances received as much as a pound a year; the usual stipend for him, as for several others, such as the claviger, the ballivus, the messor, and the coquus, was a mark. The wages of the lotrix or washerwoman appear to be the smallest, amounting, in most cases, to the sum of one shilling only.

A very heavy charge is of frequent occurrence in these accounts, under the head of corrody. This term signifies a claim to commons, or food at the table of the establishment, and was probably originally granted, either in repayment of money lent, or as a return for some favour granted to the Order. The table from which the corrodary drew his commons, depended upon his own rank; those who were of gentle blood being accommodated at the preceptor's table, and others according to their position, either with the liberi servientes, or with the garciones. In some instances, these corrodaries were in the receipt of very luxurious rations; as, for instance, in Clerkenwell, William de Langford is entitled to his commons at the preceptor's table, whenever he chooses to dine there, together with commons for one chamberlain, at the second table, and for three inferior servants at the third. But on occasions when he may choose to deprive the brethren of the honour of his company, it is expressly stipulated, that he shall receive, in lieu of his commons, a fixed allowance of four white loaves, two of ration bread, and two of black bread; three flagons of beer of the superior quality, and two of the second; one whole dish from the brothers' table, one from that of the servientes liberi, and one from that of the garciones; in addition to which, he

is to receive every night, for his bed-chamber, one flagon of best beer; and, during the winter season, four candles and one faggot of small wood; also for his stable, half-a-bushel of oats, hay, litter, a shoe, and nails: all this allowance being granted for the term of his natural life, by virtue of a charter given him by Thomas Larcher, who was at that time Grand-Prior of England. This worthy seems to have distributed pensions and corrodies, right and left, with the most reckless profusion; so much so, that some years previous to that to which this report relates, he was superseded, or resigned his post, to Leonard de Tybertis, prior of Venice, under whose fostering management the English revenues underwent a rapid improvement.

The entries for repairs of buildings were but few, and these only for trifling sums; from which might be inferred that it had always been the practice to keep the various tenements in systematic good repair, and thus to prevent any heavy annual outlay for their restoration. It must, however, be remembered that the money charges under this heading are over and above the value of the timber which may have been used, and which was of course supplied from the estate.

In addition to the expenses incurred in the maintenance of the household itself, there was a very heavy item under the head of hospitality. The rules of the Order distinctly laid down the obligation, on the part of its members, to exercise this virtue freely; and it seems very clear, on studying these accounts, that those rules were most liberally and rigidly complied with. In fact, the commanderies must have partaken very much of the character of houses of public entertainment, where both rich and poor might feel certain of a hospitable

reception, and a liberal entertainment for man and beast. Of course there was no charge made for this service, still it is more than probable that the item of confraria, which has been already alluded to, had its proportions considerably swelled by the donations of such among the better class of travellers as had experienced the kindness of the fraternity. How far this claim to reception and maintenance on the part of the wayfarer may have extended, it is difficult to determine; but there must have been a limit somewhere, since, unless the fourteenth century differed widely from the nineteenth, a free and unrestricted system of open-housekeeping would have entailed the maintenance of all the idle vagabonds in the country. The Anglo-Saxon law appears to have limited the claim, in the case of monasteries, to three days, and it is highly probable that the same margin was allowed at the commanderies. It may also be assumed, without much fear of error, that in the case of the humbler members of society, a good day's work on the farm of the establishment was extorted as a return for the day's keep; thus deterring the hardened idler from seeking a shelter, the sweets of which could only be earned by the sweat of his brow.

This wholesale system of hospitality did not owe its adoption entirely to a pious motive; there were many sagacious reasons of policy which materially encouraged the practice. It must be remembered, that in those days newspapers were among the inventions which still lay undiscovered in the womb of futurity. The majority of men travelled but little, and information was slow in spreading from one point to another; it may readily be conceived, therefore, what an engine for the collection

and distribution of important intelligence the table of the preceptor must have become. The Grand-Prior, in his head-quarters at Clerkenwell, might be regarded very much in the light of the editor of a metropolitan journal, receiving constant despatches from his correspondents at their district commanderies containing a digest of all the gossip, both local and general, which may have enlivened the jovial meals of the preceding week. This information could of course be collated and compared with that arriving from other quarters, so that a system of the earliest and most correct intelligence was always at the command of the Prior, which he might, if necessary, turn to the most valuable uses. How often may we not conceive him in a position to afford the most timely notice, even to the king in council, of some projected political movement hatched amidst the solitary fastnesses of the North, or the secluded glens of the West; notice for which it may safely be assumed that a *quid pro quo* was demanded, in the shape either of a direct donation, or an equally valuable exemption from some of the numerous burdens with which the less fortunate laity were oppressed. The Order were well aware of the advantages which their organisation gave them on this head, and were not slow to avail themselves of it. Although the records of their expenditure are most careful in exhibiting, in an ostentatious array of figures, the expenses which they incurred by their open-handed relief of wayfarers, without recording on the other side the innumerable advantages, pecuniary and otherwise, which they were enabled to glean from the practice, still the intelligent reader may with facility perform that calculation for himself; and it is to be feared that on striking a balance of the two sides, a very

trifling amount will remain to be carried over to the credit of charity.

There are, however, sundry entries in these accounts which show that this exercise of hospitality was not without its inconveniences. Although the ruling powers of the fraternity were not likely to grudge a heavy bill incurred in supplying the good things of this life to their numerous provincial guests, provided, on the other hand, that the commander was enabled to forward information, gleaned at his table, of a value commensurate with the outlay; yet cases might and did constantly occur where the expenditure may have been serious, and the results disproportionately small. A few items of local gossip or provincial scandal would be dearly purchased at the expense of many a good quarter of wheat and malting barley; and under such circumstances it was but natural that an exculpatory clause should accompany the obnoxious item, to explain away its unwelcome appearance.

Rank has its duties as well as its privileges; and it was frequently necessary for the Commander, whose position gave him considerable standing in the county where he resided, to receive at his table those of the laity who considered themselves his equals, and who chanced to reside near him; and this has, in more than one case, been quoted as an excuse for the extent of the housekeeping accounts. Thus, for instance, we find at Hampton that the Duke of Cornwall is made to bear the blame of the heavy bread and beer bill which the fraternity had contracted*: and in the Welsh commanderies the trampers became the scapegoat; who, to

* Una cum supervenientibus quia dux Cornubiæ juxta moratur.—Extract from reprise of Hampton Manor, *Hospitallers in England.*

quote the expressive language of the accountant, "multum confluunt de die in diem; et sunt magni devastatores, et sunt imponderosi."* The accounts of Clerkenwell, the head-quarter station of the Order in England, show that its proximity to London rendered it peculiarly liable to this expense. The king had the legal right, not only of dining at the Prior's table whenever he might choose to honour that personage with a visit, but also of sending all such members of his household and court as he might find it inconvenient to provide for elsewhere, to enjoy the hospitality of the brethren. It is not, therefore, surprising that we find among the housekeeping expenses of this establishment, 430 quarters of wheat, at 5*s.* the quarter, amounting to 107*l.* 10*s.*; also of barley-malt 413 quarters, which, at 4*s.* the quarter, amounted to 82*l.* 12*s.*; also of dragget-malt 60 quarters, which, at 3*s.* the quarter, amounted to 9*l.*; also of oat-malt 225 quarters, amounting, at 2*s.* the quarter, to 22*l.* 10*s.*; the three latter items being all consumed in the manufacture of different qualities of the national beverage: in addition to which, there were 300 quarters of oats, at 1*s.* 6*d.*, amounting to 22*l.* 10*s.*, for the consumption of the stable establishment, and a lump sum, which may not inaptly be termed the kitchen bill, of no less a figure than 121*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*: and all this without including many minor items, for meal porridge, pease, candles, &c. It was indeed a long price which the community had to pay for the presence and countenance of the monarch and his attending satellites; yet doubtless they received an ample consideration for the same, which enabled them

* Extract from reprise of Slebech, Pembrokeshire, *Hospitallers in England.*

to bear the burden meekly, and not to succumb under its weight.

Of all the entries on the expense side of the ledger, that which reflects the greatest disgrace on our ancestors, and which we can scarcely now peruse without blushing at the scandalous iniquity of their conduct, is the entry for law charges. Many of these are simple and innocent enough; as, for instance, the salaries of their own law officers, and the fees of counsel, which appear to have been usually forty shillings a-year, with robes; but, in addition to these, we find numerous others, which proved the barefaced venality of our courts of justice in those days; almost all the leading judges being in the pay of the Order.

Thus, in the Exchequer, we find the Chief Baron, Sir Robert de Sadyngton, Baron William de Everden, and Robert de Scarburgh, William de Stoneve the engrosser, and the two remembrancers, Gervase de Willesford and William de Broklesby, each in the receipt of two pounds a year, whilst the opponitor, Roger de Gildesburgh, is down for an annual salary of five pounds. In the Court of Common Bench, the Chief Justice, Sir William de Herle, receives ten pounds a year; Judge William de Shareshull, five pounds: Judges Richard de Aldeburgh, and John de Shardelowe, two pounds each. In the King's Bench, the Chief Justice, Geoffrey de Scrope, was in the receipt of two pounds, not to mention a couple of estates at Huntingdon and Penhull, which, it is much to be feared, were gained by him in a most unrighteous manner. His brother Justice, Richard de Willoughby, figures on the list for 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; whilst in the Court of Chancery, four of the clerks seem to have pocketed an annual fee of forty shillings each. All these

entries are expressly stated to be payments made to the legal authorities, for the quiet possession of the lands which had been transferred to the Hospitallers, from the recently defunct Order of the Temple.

Before leaving this valuable document, it may be well to mention that the brothers of the Order at this time residing in England amounted to 119, in addition to the three donats and eighty corrodaries; of these, thirty-four were Knights of justice, fourteen of that number being preceptors; forty-eight were serving brothers, of whom sixteen were preceptors, and thirty-four were chaplains, of whom seven were preceptors. The annexed table shows the number and names of the Commanderies, into which the Order had divided their property in England and Wales, together with the amounts of their gross revenues, their expenditure, and the balance remaining for payment into the treasury:—

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.	Expenditure.	Balance for Treasury.	Remarks.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Berkshire	Grenham, including Shaldeford	76 13 6	34 8 8	42 4 10	
Wiltshire	Anesty	93 0 0	39 18 8	53 1 4	
Dorsetshire	Mayne, including Kyngeston and Waye	96 2 10	42 5 4	53 4 2	An error in this balance of 1 mark (13*s.* 4*d.*).
Devonshire	Bothemescomb, including Coue	50 11 0	22 3 2	28 7 10	
Cornwall	Trebyghen	75 11 4	20 10 8	55 0 8	
Somerset	Bucklands, including Halse	124 10 4	83 9 8	41 0 8	
Hampshire	Godesfield, including Badeslee and Runham	66 13 11	30 3 8	36 10 3	
Sussex	Palyng	78 11 3	34 0 0	44 11 3	
Oxford	Clanefeld	60 13 4	34 9 0	26 4 4	
Gloucestershire	Quenyngton	179 8 4	57 6 9	122 1 7	
Herefordshire	Dynemoor, including Sutton, Rolston and Wormebrigge	182 7 3	82 1 4	100 5 11	
Pembrokeshire	Slebech	307 1 10	141 2 7	172 12 7	An error of 10 marks (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*).
North Wales	Halstan, including Dongewal	157 5 10	79 7 0	77 18 10	
Warwickshire	Grafton	78 15 2	29 15 1	49 0 0	
Derbyshire	Yeveley	95 6 0	63 6 0	32 0 0	
Yorkshire	Newland	56 5 4	30 6 0	25 19 4	
Ditto	Mount St. John	58 8 4	24 16 0	33 12 4	
Ditto	Beverley	83 17 6	43 17 6	40 0 0	
Northumberland	Chibourn	23 18 8	17 13 4	6 6 8	The depredations of the Scotch are alleged as a reason for the smallness of the revenue of this estate.

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.	Expenditure.	Balance for Treasury.	Remarks.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Nottinghamshire	Oscington	95 0 8	77 7 0	17 13 8	
Lincolnshire	Maltby	116 6 8	50 6 6	66 10 2	An error of 10 shillings.
Ditto	Skirbeck	84 11 8	79 5 0	5 6 8	
Leicestershire	Dalby, including Beaumont	128 15 8	66 8 3	62 7 5	
Northamptonshire	Dyngley	79 4 0	37 0 4	42 3 8	
Buckinghamshire	Hoggeshawe	74 14 10	28 16 4	41 18 6	An error of 6 marks (or 4*l.*)
Bedfordshire	Melcheburn	106 2 4	49 17 10	56 4 6	
Ditto	Hardwyck, including Clifton and Pelyng	69 3 5	15 10 0	53 12 5	An error of 1 shilling.
Cambridgeshire	Shenegeye, including Wendeye, Arnyngton, and Cranden	187 12 8	60 18 8	126 14 0	
Ditto	Chippenham	110 16 9	94 16 6	16 0 3	
Norfolk	Kerbrok	192 2 4	71 12 7	120 9 8	
Suffolk	Batesford, including Codenham and Melles	93 10 8	33 3 10	60 6 10	
Essex	Mapeltrestede	77 16 8	37 16 8	40 0 0	
Ditto	Staundon	34 15 4	23 0 0	10 18 8	An error of 16*s.* 8*d.*
Kent	Swenefeld	82 4 4	52 18 4	29 6 0	
Ditto	Sutton-atte-Hone	40 0 0	– – –	40 0 0	This manor appears to have been rented to John of Pulteney for a fixed sum.
Middlesex	Clerkenwell	400 0 0	421 12 4	– – –	The expenses of Clerkenwell having exceeded the receipts by 21*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*, the amount is charged against the general treasury.

In addition to the above commanderies, the Order possessed in England smaller estates, called *cameræ*, or chambers. These were not of sufficient importance for the appointment of commanders, and were either administered by bailiffs or were farmed out. Their proceeds went directly to the support of the chief seat of the Order, and did not maintain any of the fraternity within their own limits. Annexed is a table (page 284) showing their names, counties, and revenues.

The property which the Order possessed in Scotland appears to have realised nothing in 1338, owing to the constant wars which were devastating the country.* They were estimated in former years to realise 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

In addition to the property enumerated above, the fraternity of the Hospital stood possessed of sundry manors, formerly the property of the Templars. They are enumerated at pages 285—287.

The same remark holds good with regard to the Temple lands in Scotland, as was quoted for the Hospital property, no revenue being obtainable therefrom on account of the war.

* Terre et tenementa, redditus et servicia, ecclesie appropriate, et omnes possessiones hospitalis in Scocia sunt destructa combusta per fortem guerram ibidem per multos annos continuatam, unde nil hiis diebus potest levari. Solebat, tamen, tempore pacis, reddere per annum cc marcas.

CAMERÆ OF THE HOSPITAL.

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.	Expenditure.	Balance for Treasury.	Remarks.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Dorsetshire	Chiltecomb, including Tolre	24 5 4	4 5 4	20 0 0	
Hampshire	Wodecot	13 6 8	nil.	13 6 8	Farmed out.
Leicestershire	Swyneford, including Shadewell	27 2 6	7 2 8	20 0 0	Et vix possunt levari hiis diebus.
Derbyshire	Baruwe	36 2 0	12 15 4	23 6 8	
Lancashire	Wolueton	13 6 8	nil.	13 6 8	Farmed out.
Ditto	Le Stede	6 13 4	nil.	6 13 4	Farmed out.
Yorkshire	Coppegrave	13 6 8	nil.	nil.	Held for life by William de Hotham.
Ditto	Huntyndon	6 13 4	nil.	nil.	Given for his life to Chief Justice Jeoffrey de Scrope.
Ditto	Steynton	6 7 8	1 13 4	4 13 4	An error of 1 shilling.
Nottinghamshire	Wynkebourne, including Deynilthorp	62 8 5	22 8 5	40 0 0	
Lincolnshire	Horkestouwe & Botnesford	41 6 11	nil.	nil.	Given for his life to Sir Robert Silkeston.
Northamptonshire	Blacolneslee	33 6 8	nil.	33 6 8	Farmed out.
Ditto	Gildisburgh	53 6 8	nil.	53 6 8	Farmed out.
Ditto	Hetherington	53 2 0	13 15 4	39 6 8	
Bedfordshire	Eton	77 12 4	20 5 8	57 6 8	
Cambridgeshire	Asshelee	23 6 8	4 13 4	18 13 4	
Suffolk	Preston	13 6 8	nil.	13 6 8	Farmed out.
Essex	Saunford	5 0 0	nil.	5 0 0	Farmed out.
Ditto	Stilbyng and Chauree	53 6 8	nil.	53 6 8	Farmed out.
Ditto	Brokesbourn	20 0 0	16 0 0	4 0 0	The 16*l.* is a pension to Edward St. John, and the balance is credited in the Clerkenwell accounts.
Kent	Stallesfed and Ore	26 13. 4	nil.	26 13 4	Farmed out.
Middlesex	Herefeld	26 13 4	nil.	nil.	Granted for life to Brother William Brex.
Buckinghamshire	Wydende	6 13 4	nil.	6 13 4	
Warwick	Ruton on Donnesmor	not stated	nil.	nil.	Granted for life to Henry de la Dale.
Bedfordshire	Chikewell	13 6 8	nil.	nil.	Granted for life to Walter Launcelyn.
Middlesex	Newynton	10 0 0	nil.	nil.	Granted for life to the Bishop of Lincoln.
Ditto	Hampton	83 13 10	30 7 2	53 6 8	

PROPERTY TRANSFERRED FROM THE TEMPLARS.

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.	Expenditure.	Balance for Treasury.	Remarks.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Northumberland .	Thornton . . .	16 5 0	7 5 0	9 0 0	Tamen nil in presenti propter guerram Scocie.
Ditto . . .	Penhull	Not stated	nil.	nil.	Given for life to Chief-Justice Sir Geoffrey Scrope.
Yorkshire . .	Couton	83 6 8	9 1 8	74 5 0	
Ditto . . .	Rybstayn and Wederby .	167 11 8	66 9 10	101 1 10	
Ditto . . .	Wythelee . . .	13 6 8	nil.	13 6 8	Farmed out.
Ditto . . .	Etton	13 11 2	Not stated.	Not stated.	This property is not farmed out; but neither the expenses or balance are stated.
Ditto . . .	Ffoukebrigg . . .	18 4 0	7 6 8	10 17 4	
Ditto . . .	Aluerthorp . . .	19 17 8	1 13 4	18 4 4	
Ditto . . .	Westerdal . . .	37 16 0	6 6 8	31 9 4	
Ditto . . .	Coupmanthorp . .	10 0 0	nil.	10 0 0	Farmed out for life to Walter de Fauconberg.
Ditto . . .	Kelyngton . . .	20 0 0	nil.	nil.	Granted to Sir Robert Silkeston till 1340.
Lincolnshire . .	Wilughton, including Gaynesburg, Golkesby, Calkewell, Thorp in Warectis, Ingham, Cabourne, Lymberg, Saxeby, Mere, Wadyngton, Estirkele, Claxby, Temlby, Walcote	284 3 5	82 10 8	201 12 8	
Ditto . . .	Upton	not stated.	nil.	nil.	Granted away.
Ditto . . .	Ketcby and Bellewode .	not stated.	nil.	nil.	Granted for the joint lives of John, Earl of Warrenne, and his wife.
Ditto . . .	Hareby	16 0 0	nil.	nil.	Granted to Sir Robert Silkeston for life.
Ditto . . .	Bruere, including Rouston and North Kirkeby	177 7 8	84 0 2	93 7 6	
Ditto . . .	Caldecot	2 0 0	nil.	nil.	Granted to Robert of Sibshorp for his life.
Ditto . . .	Eycle	122 11 10	55 18 4	66 13 4	

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.	Expenditure.	Balance for Treasury.	Remarks.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Lincolnshire . .	Aslakeby . . .	40 0 0	nil.	nil.	Granted to Henry de la Dale until 1340.
Ditto . . .	Suth Wyme . . .	26 13 4	nil.	nil.	Granted to Richard de Ty for his life.
Ditto . . .	Donyngton . . .	10 0 0	nil.	nil.	Granted for life to Randolph de Biry.
Nottinghamshire .	Marnham . . .	20 0 0	nil.	nil.	Granted to Sir Robert of Silkeston till 1340.
Ditto . . .	Ifaufdour . . .	4 13 4	nil.	4 13 4	Granted to Thomas Sibthorp for his life.
Rutlandshire .	Stretton . . .	8 0 0	nil.	8 0 0	
Huntingdonshire .	Wassinglee . . .	not stated	nil.	nil.	Granted for life to Sir Simon de Drayton.
Buckinghamshire .	Radenach . . .	6 13 4	nil.	6 13 4	
Cambridgeshire .	Wilbergham . . .	98 1 8	32 17 0	65 4 8	
Ditto . . .	Dokesworth . . .	16 11 0	8 8 4	8 2 8	
Norfolk . .	Togrynd . . .	6 16 0	15 11	6 0 1	
Suffolk . . .	Gyselingham . . .	5 0	nil.	5 0	Granted for life to John Westelee.
Cambridgeshire .	Wendeye . . .	16 13 4	nil.	16 13 4	
Essex . . .	Cressing and Wytham .	133 12 4	40 5 8	93 6 8	
Ditto . . .	Sutton	16 13 4	nil.	nil.	Held for life by William de Langeford.
Ditto . . .	Swonton	4 4 0	nil.	4 4 0	Held for life by Simon Croyser.
Ditto . . .	Sharnebrock . . .	13 4	nil.	13 4	Granted for life to Sir John Wolaston and his wife.
Bedfordshire . .	Melbrock . . .	not stated	nil.	nil.	Held for life by William de Staundon.
Ditto . . .	Stokton	16 13 4	nil.	16 13 4	Farmed out.
Ditto . . .	Langeford . . .	16 13 4	nil.	16 13 4	
Hertfordshire .	Langenok . . .	25 6 8	not stated	19 0 0	
Ditto . . .	Dyneslee . . .	18 0 0	nil.	18 0 0	
Middlesex . .	Lylleston . . .	10 0 0	nil.	nil.	Held for life by William de Clyf.
Kent . . .	Waltham . . .	2 0 0	nil.	nil.	Held for life by Walter Godchep.
Ditto . . .	Ewell	26 13 4	nil.	26 13 4	Held for life by Hamond Godchep.
Ditto . . .	Dertford . . .	not stated	nil.	nil.	Held for life by Sir Randolph Cobham.
Surrey . . .	Sutwerk . . .	16 13 4	nil.	nil.	Held for life by Hauwice de Sevalclive.
Sussex . . .	Compton . . .	2 13 4	nil.	2 13 4	Let for life to Sir Andrew de Medstede.
Ditto . . .	Shepelee . . .	17 17 6	10 16 8	16 16 4	

Leicestershire	Rothelee	87	7	0	20	13	8	66	13	4	
Ditto	Melton Mowbray	6	13	4		nil.		6	13	4	Farmed by Walter Prest.
Ditto	Stonnesby	6	13	4		nil.		6	13	4	Let for life to William de Whiteby.
Warwickshire	Ballessall, including Flechamstede and Chelidcote	127	2	6	74	19	0	52	3	6	
Ditto	Warrewyck	18	3	4	12	6	8	5	17	0	
Pembrokeshire	Templeton	6	3	3		nil.			nil.		Held for life by Sir Robert de Hungerford.
Somersetshire	Templecoumbe, including Wileton, Westcombeland, Lopene, Lode, Bristoll, Worle, Hidon, Templeton, and Cleyhangre	106	13	0	66	13	0	40	0	0	
Wiltshire	Roucle, including Lokerugge	20	7	7	7	7	7	13	0	0	
Somersetshire	Chiryton	13	15	1	5	0	0	8	15	1	
Oxfordshire	Saunford, with Templecoulee, Meriton, Sibford, Horspath, Overhorspath, and Littlemor	141	5	4	59	17	7	81	7	9	
Ditto	Bradewell	15	16	8		nil.		15	16	8	
Ditto	Werpesgrave cum Esyndon	18	0	0		nil.		18	0	0	Rented for life by Sir John Stonor.
Gloucestershire	Templegutyng	6	13	4		nil.			nil.		Occupied by Master Pancium.
Ditto	Broughton	5	0	0		nil.		5	0	0	Let for life to Roger de Belu.
Worcestershire	Lawern	5	0	0		nil.		5	0	0	Let for life to Sir John Hampton.
Warwickshire	Wolueye	5	0	0		nil.		5	0	0	Farmed out.
Ditto	Herberbury	6	4	0		nil.			nil.		Held for life by Sir Roger Hillary.
Ditto	Stodleye		15	0		nil.			15	0	Farmed out.
Herefordshire	Uppeledene	44	4	8	15	12	0	28	6	0	An error of ½ mark (6*s.* 8*d.*).
Monmouthshire	Garewy, including Harewoode, Lamadock, Keimeys, and Sanctus Wolstanus	87	0	4	46	17	0	40	3	4	
Shropshire	Staunton, with Prene	32	7	1	8	9	10	23	17	3	
Staffordshire	Keel	13	6	8	13	6	8		nil.		

It will be seen by the above list that the fraternity were in the enjoyment of a very extensive addition to their income, in England at all events, owing to the destruction of the Templars; and since, besides the revenue actually receivable in 1338, there were a large number of estates, as seen above, held for life by different individuals either rent free or at a very low rate, this property might be considered as decidedly of an improving character. It must not, however, be assumed that the Hospitallers were equally fortunate with their Templar estates in other countries. Nowhere did the Templars hold so much landed estate as in England; nor was the transfer of their property to the Hospitallers by any means so honestly carried out in any other land. Even in England, however, very extensive estates, formerly in the possession of the Templars, fell at their extinction into secular hands; and although the report of Brother Thame was compiled twenty years after that event, he appears to have been still unable to obtain their restoration. They are enumerated at the end of his report in a tone of fond regret, specifying the names of the spoilers who were still standing between the Hospital and her own. They are as follow:—

	Value.			
The manor of Strode . .	£50	0	0	held by the Countess of Pembroke.
„ Deneye . .	£66	13	4	held by the same lady.
„ Hurst and Neusom	£120	0	0	held by the same lady.
„ Ffaxflete cum Cane	£100	0	0	held by Randolph Nevill.
A water-mill at York . .	£13	6	8	held by the king.
The manor of Carleton . .	£16	6	8	held by Hugh le Despencer.
„ Normanton in the Vale . .	£10	0	0	held by Lord de Roos.
„ Lydleye . .	£66	13	4	held by the Earl of Arundel.
„ Penkerne .	£20	0	0	held by the Earl of Gloucester.
„ Gutyng and Bradewell . .	£133	6	8	held by Master Pancium.
„ Bristelesham .	£66	13	4	held by the Earl of Salisbury.
„ Bulstrode .	£50	0	0	held by the Abbess of Burnham.
„ Sadelescombe .	£66	13	4	held by Earl Warrenne.

The total amount credited to the general treasury of England in 1338, after deducting local expenditure, was 3826*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* The expenditure of the general treasury in pensions, bribes, &c., was 1389*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*; leaving a balance for the payment of responsions of 2304*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* The amount for which England was liable to the treasury of Rhodes was 2280*l.*; being the one third part of the gross receipts of the priory, amounting to 6839*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*, and it will be seen that her actual income fell a trifle above that sum; the balance of course came into the hands of the Grand-Prior.

The income of this dignitary, as charged in the accounts, is 1*l.* per diem. For a period of 121 days this charge is made in the several commanderies, two or three days in each, under the head of the Grand-Prior's visitation. For the remainder of the year it is debited in a lump sum, as one of the expenses of the general treasury. He also received an allowance of 93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for robes for himself and household.

Such was the mode of life carried on in the commanderies of the English language during the first half of the fourteenth century; and it will not be too much to assume, that in other countries a very similar system was pursued. Certain differences must of course have been made to suit the habits and character of the people amongst whom they chanced to be located. Although the liberty of the English peasant in those days was hardly worthy of bearing the name, when compared with that which he enjoys at the present time, still it placed him in a position far superior to that of his continental brother; and doubtless the commander in a French or Spanish manor, ruled over the population which fell within the limits of his sway, with an auto-

cratic despotism which was denied to him in England. We may also assume that in those two languages the accounts would not have exhibited so large an expenditure in the item of beer, nor did they probably return so large a revenue as the superior wealth of England enabled the Hospitallers to extract from its shores. Still, allowing for these and other differences, it cannot be denied that this report from brother Philip de Thame affords a very excellent clue to the general mode of governance adopted by the Hospital in the management of its foreign property.

CHAP. X.

ELECTION OF PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC. — BATTLE OF NICOPOLIS. — PURCHASE OF THE MOREA. — ITS SUBSEQUENT RESTORATION. — TIMOUR THE TARTAR. — HIS OVERTHROW OF BAJAZET. — LOSS OF SMYRNA. — ERECTION OF THE FORTRESS OF ST. PETER'S. — TREATY WITH THE SULTAN OF EGYPT. — CONCLUSION OF THE PAPAL SCHISM AND REUNION OF THE ORDER. — DEATH OF NAILLAC AND SUCCESSION OF FLUVIAN. — INVASION OF CYPRUS. — DEATH OF FLUVIAN. — ELECTION OF LASTIC. — DESCENT ON RHODES IN 1444. — REFORMS IN THE ORDER. — FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. — ELECTION OF JAMES DE MILLY. — DISPUTES AMIDST THE FRATERNITY. — SUCCESSION OF RAYMOND ZACOSTA. — ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EIGHTH LANGUAGE. — ERECTION OF FORT NICHOLAS. — DEPARTURE OF ZACOSTA FOR ROME. — HIS DEATH THERE. — SUCCEEDED BY ORSINI. — FALL OF NEGROPONT. — PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE AT RHODES. — DEATH OF ORSINI AND NOMINATION OF PETER OF AUBUSSON.

THE vacancy caused by the death of Heredia occurred at a time when not only was the Order distracted by the schism still raging in Europe, but at the same time threatened by a new and redoubtable foe in the East. Under these circumstances it was necessary they should be extremely cautious in their selection of a successor. Philibert of Naillac, Grand-Prior of Aquitaine, was the Knight who enlisted in his favour the majority of suffrages; and subsequent events fully bore out the wisdom of the choice. He had no sooner assumed the duties of government than he was called upon to join in a general European Crusade against the foe already alluded to.

Bajazet,* one of the descendants and successors of Othman, having overcome in succession most of the petty sovereigns by whom he was surrounded, and his ambition increasing in proportion to his success, was threatening an irruption into Hungary, from whence he openly boasted that he would push his way into Italy, where, after having planted his standard on the capitol of Rome, he would convert the altar of St. Peter into a manger for his horse. The Pope, terrified at these menaces, which the power of Bajazet's army and the feebleness of the eastern portion of Europe rendered by no means impossible of execution, invoked the aid of Europe to crush the proud dream of the aspiring chieftain. In obedience to his call a league was formed; comprising Charles VI., king of France; Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy; the republic of Venice; the Greek emperor; the Knights of Rhodes, and the chiefs of sundry other petty principalities in the East.

This expedition, of which the principal bulk was French, marched through Germany, Bavaria, and Austria, into Hungary; where they were joined by Naillac and a large body of his Knights. The Count of Nevers, eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, commanded the French contingent; whilst Sigismond, king of Hungary, placed himself at the head of the Hospitallers, with whose worth he was well acquainted. The succour which had arrived was so extensive that throughout the Christian army an overweening confidence and fatal sense of security

* The extended empire which Bajazet established over the West of Asia, had had its foundation laid by his father, Mourad I., who, throughout his reign continued to increase the limits of his sway,—a policy which was pursued after his death by Bajazet with unremitting vigour.

prevailed. It was deemed impossible that Bajazet, with his wild hordes of Infidels, could for one moment attempt to withstand the proud array of chivalry advancing to overwhelm him; and the march of the army more resembled a triumphal progress, than a movement in the face of a bold and wary foe.

During this time Bajazet had been engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, a city which he was earnestly desirous to bring under his domination, but which he did not feel himself at that moment in a position to attack. He remained quietly with his army, without attempting to oppose any check to the advance of the Christians; contenting himself by watching the general course of events, and studiously concealing all knowledge of his whereabouts. The allies, having passed the Danube, entered Bulgaria 100,000 strong, of whom fully one half were cavalry.

Their first operation was to undertake the siege of Nicopolis, a powerful fortress, strongly garrisoned, and commanded by one of Bajazet's most experienced leaders. The defence was conducted with the utmost skill and bravery, every inch of ground being warmly contested, and the Christians obtaining but very slender advantage in return for the expenditure of a vast amount of blood. Their camp was at this time the scene of the most reckless debauchery: the officers passing their days in the arms of the courtesans who accompanied the army in vast multitudes; and the soldiers revelling in intoxication to the utter subversion of all military discipline. Meanwhile Bajazet, having collected his forces, advanced with the utmost rapidity and the most profound secrecy, to the relief of his beleaguered fortress. So admirably arranged was this manœuvre, that it was not until his

army actually defiled in their presence, that the negligent and incautious besiegers had the slightest idea of his proximity. What ensued was a precise counterpart of those scenes so often enacted upon the soil of Palestine; where the impetuous valour and headstrong obstinacy of the crusading squadrons had so often led to their overwhelming and humiliating defeat at the hands of the wary Infidel.

The king of Hungary was well aware of the practice then prevalent amongst eastern chieftains, of placing in the van of their armies the most worthless of their troops, destined to bear the brunt of the first onset of the foe, reserving their better forces for subsequent action, as soon as the vigour of the attack had exhausted itself. He therefore proposed that a similar measure should be adopted in their own army; and suggested that his own inexperienced militia would be the most suitable opponents to these undisciplined hordes of the enemy. The Count de Nevers, however, with that blind obstinacy by which the bravest men so often mar their fortunes, would listen to no such proposition. He argued that the van of the army was the post of honour, and as such belonged of right to the chivalry of France; that the attempt of Sigismond to substitute his undisciplined Hungarians arose from a desire on his part to secure for his own nation the chief glory of the day. Supported as he was by subordinates as hot-headed and arrogant as himself, all remonstrances were unavailing, and the king was reluctantly compelled to witness the flower of his army wasting their energies and exhausting their powers against the worthless hordes who preceded the main body of the Infidel army.

Eagerly placing himself at the head of his gallant array, Nevers, with an impetuosity which might have carried with it the seeds of success, had it been tempered with the smallest amount of prudence, dashed furiously at the advancing foe. As might have been expected, the swarms opposed to him were scattered like chaff before the wind; and without presenting any resistance worthy of the name, either suffered themselves to be helplessly slaughtered, or endeavoured to purchase safety in a tumultuous and disorderly flight. The dispersion of this advanced body, however, disclosed to Nevers' view a spectacle which would have dismayed any but the strongest nerve. In serried and dense masses were drawn up, directly in his front, a huge column of janissaries, then justly considered the flower of the Turkish infantry. Their vast and massive battalions presented a firm and impassable barrier to his further progress. Without a moment's pause, however, the impetuous French dashed at their new assailants, and for a considerable time a desperate combat ensued. The onset of the Christians proved eventually irresistible; and these janissaries, whose renown and general career of success had led them to consider themselves invincible, quailed beneath the vigour of the attack; and, after a vain attempt to maintain their ground, at length gave way and fled for shelter.

Bajazet, however, had as yet brought into action but a portion of his forces. On perceiving the disaster which had befallen the janissaries, he advanced for their support a large body of cavalry, in whose rear the flying infantry were enabled to find protection from the fierce pursuit of the foe. The ardour of the French appeared to rise with each successive obstacle: heedless

of the vastly superior numbers opposed to them, and without waiting for support from the remainder of the Christian army, they dashed at their new antagonists with so vigorous a charge, that they carried all before them, and swept away this second barrier with the same facility as the former one. Up to this point all had gone well, the body of the army had apparently only to remain quiet spectators, whilst the chivalry of France were overcoming and dispersing in helpless confusion ten times their number of the choicest forces under the banner of the Infidel. Had Nevers paused here, and rallying his scattered Knights, permitted the rest of the army to advance and follow up the victory he had so gloriously gained, that day must have witnessed the complete overthrow of Bajazet's army. Fate, however, had decreed it otherwise; although the hour of Bajazet's overthrow was close at hand, it was not by Christian might that his destruction was to be accomplished; and he was permitted to enjoy yet one other brief hour of triumph ere his own day of retribution came upon him.

Hurried away by the ardour of pursuit, Nevers did not for one moment stop to consider the exhausted state to which his own troops had been reduced by their previous efforts; breaking their ranks, as they considered the day finally gained, they urged their jaded steeds after the flying foe in every direction. It was whilst in this disordered condition that they were surprised, in crowning the brow of a hill, to perceive upon its other side a dense forest of spears, which had hitherto been concealed from their view. This was Bajazet's grand corps of reserve, with which he still trusted to redeem the fortunes of the day. Having placed himself at their head, he prepared once more to renew the combat

against the antagonists who had thrice overcome all that had been opposed to them. These very victories, however, had only the more certainly ensured their present defeat. Both men and horses were exhausted with fatigue, their ranks broken, and all organisation lost in their late disorderly pursuit; what wonder then that this fresh array of troops, Bajazet's own body guard, led by that redoubtable chieftain himself in person, should gain an easy victory? Combat there was little or none, and but a very slender remnant of that gallant band succeeded in extricating themselves from the fatal plain.

The scale of victory had now turned; the Hungarians, witnessing the complete destruction of their French allies, in whom they had placed their chief reliance, and being themselves principally raw undisciplined levies of militia, without waiting to encounter the shock of Bajazet's advance, gave way at once, and fled ignominiously from the field. The Bavarians, however, under Gara, the elector Palatine; and the Styrians, under Herman de Cilly, stood firm, and supported by the Knights of Rhodes, sustained with a resolute front the shock of the foe. Being reinforced by such of the French cavalry as had escaped the previous mêlée, they once more resumed the offensive; and to the number of about 12,000 hurled themselves anew upon the Turk. At this moment it seemed as though the fate of the day might still have been restored. The impetuous charge of those gallant spirits carried them through the dense ranks of the janissaries, who were totally unable to withstand their power, whilst the sipahis, who advanced to their support, were thrown into the utmost disorder, and appeared as though they were once more about to quail before the chivalry of Europe.

At this critical moment, the Kral of Servia, a faithful ally of Bajazet, rushed to the rescue, with a fresh body of five thousand men. This reinforcement decided the victory in favour of the Turks; the heroic division, which had struggled so long and so nobly to restore the fortunes of the day, were crushed beneath the new foe now brought against them, and the greater number perished gloriously around their banners. A few faithful Knights, amongst whom was Philibert de Naillac, clustered round the king, and with the greatest difficulty extricated him from the scene of strife. Having gained the banks of the Danube, they placed Sigismond and the Archbishop de Grand in a little boat, which was lying beneath the shelter of the bank; they themselves remaining on the shore to secure a safe retreat to the monarch. As soon as they had assured themselves that the stream had carried the frail bark beyond the reach of the missiles directed against it by the foe, Naillac, accompanied by Gara and Cilly, took possession of another boat, and made good their own escape in a similar manner. Most fortunately it was not long before they encountered the combined fleet of the Hospitallers and the Venetians, by whom they were speedily conveyed to Rhodes, whence, after a detention of a few days, during which Naillac entertained his royal guest with magnificent splendour, Sigismond passed on into Dalmatia.

The results of this action were most disastrous to the Christians; the whole of the enormous body of prisoners who fell into the hands of Bajazet were by him murdered in cold blood on the succeeding day, to the number of upwards of ten thousand. The carnage lasted from daybreak until four o'clock in the afternoon. Only the

Count of Nevers, and twenty-four other Knights, from whom he expected a large ransom, were rescued from the general slaughter. If, as has been recorded by all the contemporary historians, the French, prior to going into action, had massacred such Turkish prisoners as were then in their hands, this butchery may be looked upon in the light of a reprisal, and its diabolical atrocity somewhat mitigated.

The overthrow of the allied army having left Bajazet at complete liberty, he once more pursued his cherished schemes of conquest. The siege of Constantinople, which had hitherto assumed the form simply of a blockade, was converted into an active operation, and pushed forward with extreme vigour. At the same time, he overran the whole of the Morea; and extended his advantages to so great a length that the despot of that country, one of the Porphyrogeniti, Theodore Paleologus, fled from his dominions, and took refuge at Rhodes; and, whilst there, offered to sell his rights over the district to the Knights of St. John. This proposal having been accepted, and the price agreed on, paid partly in money and partly in jewels, the Order sent commissioners into the Morea to take formal possession of their new acquisition. The inhabitants of Corinth welcomed them with joy, feeling that they would be far more secure under the white cross banner than under the enfeebled sway of the Paleologi. Bajazet had, however, in this interval been compelled to withdraw his forces from their ravaging expeditions, and to concentrate them for the purpose of opposing a new foe who had appeared in his rear. The city of Sparta, taking advantage of the temporary freedom gained by the absence of their dreaded enemy, refused to admit the com-

missioners within their walls, or to confirm in any way the transfer which had taken place. Paleologus hearing of this opposition, and already regretting the sale which he had effected of his dignities, took advantage of the incident to annul the contract, and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and after the lapse of several years, that Naillac succeeded in rescuing from his grasp the jewels and other treasure which he had received from the Order.

Up to this time the career of the ambitious Bajazet had been unchecked by any reverse. One by one he had overcome the petty sovereigns by whom he was surrounded, and, establishing himself upon the conquered territory, he had created a powerful and ever increasing kingdom. His recent success at the battle of Nicopolis seemed to open the way for further acquisitions, and to smooth for him the path of ambition which he had determined to tread. The capture of Constantinople, and of such feeble remnants of the Byzantine empire as were still retained by the Paleologi, had long been a day dream with him, and the moment appeared to have now arrived when that project might be carried into execution. All hope of further assistance from Europe against the aggressions of the Turk were at an end. The wail of lamentation that had arisen throughout France at the announcement of the fearful slaughter which had occurred during the battle of Nicopolis and the inhuman butcheries which had marked its close, had been too heart-rending and universal to admit of the slightest prospect that further aid could be drawn from thence. The Byzantine emperor thus deprived of all succour from the West, in the critical position in which he found himself placed,

was at length driven to seek the aid of one whose interposition was likely to prove quite as fatal as that of Bajazet.

In an evil hour for Christianity, he applied for the assistance of Timour, or Tamerlane, the redoubted Tartar chief, the fame of whose exploits was even then ringing throughout the Eastern world. Of the origin of Timour numerous different versions have been recorded by historians; some have asserted that he was of very mean parentage, his father having been a simple shepherd, and he himself having been engaged during his early youth in superintending the pasturage of his flocks. Others again pretend to trace his descent from the great Djenghis Khan. Whichever may be the correct version, there can be no doubt that he established his power entirely by the strength of his own right hand; and that from the most slender beginnings he had raised himself to a domination over the countries of the East so extensive as to have excited within his breast the hope of one day aspiring to universal empire. The character of Timour was one which marked him as a being destined to play no ordinary part on the stage of life. With all the qualities requisite in a great commander, he was at the same time endued with the keenest political sagacity—a gift which enabled him to consolidate his conquests so as to render their retention a matter of no difficulty. Naturally ferocious and bloodthirsty, he aimed at a rule of terror, which he conceived to be the surest protection of a sovereign; indeed the saying is attributed to him that the throne of a monarch could never be safe unless its base was floating in blood. The ambitious tenor of his mind may be well gathered from another of his favourite

sayings, that, as there was but one God in heaven so there should only be one monarch upon earth. Indomitable in will he never formed a resolution without persisting in its execution in spite of every difficulty. Opposition appeared only to increase his determination, and he thus often succeeded in overriding obstacles before which a less dauntless mind might have been cowed. His person was as singular and conspicuous as his character. He was lame from an injury he had received, the result of a fall from the rampart of a fortress which he was assaulting. Notwithstanding this infirmity, he had an upright gait and a proud commanding air. His head was large, his brow expansive, and his hair, which was snowy white, combined with the ruddiness of his complexion, gave him a most remarkable appearance. The game of chess was a passion with him, and he had but few rivals in the art. Deeply imbued with superstition, he held the priesthood in great reverence, although his own religion has been much disputed, and appears to have been made to suit his policy rather than his faith. As the great majority of his subjects were Mahometans he adopted their tenets, but seems never to have practised them very rigidly nor to have hesitated in any breach of their laws which might advance his temporal prosperity.

Such was the ally whose aid the Greek emperor had invoked, thus bringing upon the East of Europe that scourge who had hitherto contented himself with sweeping the vast plains of Asia. Tamerlane, who was not overpleased at the prospect of so powerful a neighbour as Bajazet, entered willingly into the views of the Greeks, and at once sent an embassy to the Ottoman

prince, requiring him to desist from the further prosecution of his designs against Constantinople, and to restore to the neighbouring princes, many of whom had taken refuge at his own court, those territories that he had torn from their sway. To this demand Bajazet returned a peremptory refusal, accompanying his reply with the most insulting and offensive threats against his Tartar rival. The fiery nature of Timour was instantly evoked by the terms of Bajazet's message, and he determined to wreak a bitter vengeance upon the prince who had dared thus to oppose his views and beard his wrath. A call to arms throughout his vast dominions was speedily obeyed on all sides, and a vast force, composed of the various nations who had acknowledged his sway, was speedily collected beneath his banners.

The first active operation of the war which then commenced was the siege of Sebasta, a powerful fortress in Cappadocia, the defence of which was conducted by Ortogul, a favourite son of Bajazet. The extreme strength of the place and the powerful garrison to whose care its defence had been entrusted, made Ortogul deem it an easy matter to detain the Tartar foe before its walls until his father should be enabled to advance to his support. Little however had he calculated the audacity and overpowering daring of his opponent. Timour, neglecting all the ordinary routine of a siege, hurled his wild hordes in endless succession against the opposing ramparts, and by the sheer force of numbers succeeded, after the most incredible slaughter, in forcing his way into the town. The whole garrison was instantly massacred in the

fury of the moment, and Ortogul himself, in accordance with the savage dictates of Timour's nature, fell a victim to the sword of the executioner.

The news of this the first reverse which had fallen upon his arms, accompanied as it was by the murder of his favourite son, caused the most poignant grief and the most lively anxiety to Bajazet. Hastily assembling his forces, he pushed rapidly forward to meet the enemy who had dealt him so cruel a blow, and the hostile forces encountered each other near the town of Ancona. The result of the desperate encounter which ensued was completely fatal to Bajazet: his army was cut to pieces and utterly annihilated, whilst he himself remained a prisoner in the hands of his foe—a fate from which he only escaped a few months later by the death brought on from the keenness of his disappointment at the utter overthrow of all his projects.

The Knights of Rhodes had now cause to lament the precipitancy with which the Greek emperor had invoked the aid of so dangerous an ally. After having, by the most rapid advances, and with the able assistance of his lieutenants, succeeded in securing to himself the full results of the advantages he had gained, Timour turned his eyes in the direction of those European conquests which had so often excited the ambition of Bajazet. His keen glance instantly perceived that the strongest bulwark of Christianity opposed to him was that island fortress, the heights of which, in every direction, were bristling with cannon, and were defended by the redoubtable warriors of the cross, the fame of whose deeds had penetrated even to the remotest fastnesses of Asia. Before, however, he could attempt to crush the

parent establishment, he perceived that it would be necessary to deal with its offshoot at Smyrna, and he speedily led his forces in that direction.

It is stated that his first demand merely required the form of planting his standard upon the citadel; but William de Mine, the Knight to whom the Grand-Master had confided the defence of Smyrna, rejected the proposed compromise with scorn. De Naillac, having foreseen that, whatever might be the issue of the struggle between Bajazet and Tamerlane, the victor would be sure to turn his arms in the direction of Smyrna, had taken every precaution for its defence. In addition to the appointment of the grand-hospitaller, William de Mine, as its governor, a Knight in whose dauntless courage and intelligent zeal he felt he could confide, he had thrown such reinforcements into the place as had rendered it as secure as the exposed nature of the town would admit of.

Timour, finding his proposals rejected, gave instructions for the siege to be instantly commenced by his generals; but, under their command, little or no progress was made towards its capture. At length, he himself arrived before the place, on the 1st December 1402. His first act was to summon the garrison to a prompt surrender; his next to direct the most energetic measures for its assault. In order to secure the prompt submission of such fortresses as he besieged, Timour had adopted a system, from which he never deviated, of hoisting over his pavilion, on the first day, a white flag, by which he signified, that if the town surrendered on that day, the lives of its garrison would be spared, and itself preserved from pillage. On the second day a red flag was substituted, signifying the death of the governor and the

leading inhabitants, but still promising security to the mass; but should this day also pass without submission, on the third morning a black flag was seen floating in the place of the former ones, and from that moment the only hope of the garrison rested in a successful defence, for the capture of the town was inevitably followed by the universal massacre of the inhabitants, and its own utter destruction.

This stage having been reached, the garrison of Smyrna knew their fate, and prepared to resist it manfully. Timour's first attempt at an assault was frustrated by the Knights with great slaughter. Pouring upon the assailants every species of missile which the art of war had in those days adopted, including the far-famed Grecian fire, boiling oil, seething pitch, together with sundry other aids to defence, such as were usually adopted, they succeeded in driving the Tartars back in confusion to their camp. The bitter experience of this failure taught Timour that he was now in the presence of men, against whom the dashing and off-hand measures he had so often successfully adopted would be unavailing. Bold and determined as might be the onset, he was met by a foe, who could die, but never yield; and against that living rampart of Christian warriors it was in vain that he hurled the choicest battalions in his vast army. Taught by this experience, his fertile genius soon devised a means for meeting his opponents upon a different footing.

He caused numerous circular gigantic wooden towers to be constructed, moveable upon rollers, of such large dimensions as to contain two hundred men within each; and so lofty, that, when divided into three compartments, the centre one should be on a level with the

ramparts of the town. The top floor was destined to be crowded with archers, who, from its height, would be enabled to overlook the defenders of the ramparts, and could pour a destructive fire upon them at the critical moment of the assault. To the centre floor a moveable bridge was attached, enabling the assaulting party to cross on to the rampart without difficulty, whilst the lower compartment was filled with miners, who were enabled to penetrate beneath the walls of the town, in perfect security from any opposition on the part of the defenders. He at the same time closed the entrance of the port with enormous blocks of stone, thus completely cutting off the possibility of any reinforcement reaching the fortress by means of the sea. The number of workmen employed upon this operation was so great, that the whole work was completed in one day, and from that hour the garrison felt that their doom was sealed.

All his preparations having thus been made, Timour gave the signal for the assault, and the ponderous towers moved slowly towards the ramparts. Although a deluge of rain poured in incessant torrents throughout the day, neither attack nor defence was for one moment checked: the heroic Knights struggling with the courage of despair, at each new danger redoubled their efforts, pouring from their ramparts a constant stream of Greek fire, naphtha, and flaming arrows, upon the advancing foe. Timour's precautions, however, had been too well taken to admit of the possibility of failure: whilst the defenders were gallantly struggling to resist the assaulting parties hurled against them from the centre compartments of Timour's machines, those beneath were enabled to prosecute their labours unrestrained; and

ere long large gaps appeared in the masonry of the ramparts, supported only by wooden props, which the besiegers had inserted for that purpose. These timbers, after having been well coated with naphtha, were, upon a given signal, ignited, and as the rising flames encircled them in a fiery embrace, the support gave way, and a large mass of the treacherous rampart fell to the earth with a deafening crash. With shouts of exultation the assailants poured through the breach, and overcoming by their numbers every obstacle which the defenders were enabled to throw in their way, succeeded in planting the banner of Islam upon the conquered citadel.

Timour did not, upon this occasion, depart from the practice which he invariably pursued after the display of his black banner, and the universal destruction of town, garrison, and inhabitants, speedily followed the successful termination of the conflict. A few of the latter succeeded in forcing their way to the shore, whence by swimming they reached a barque then standing in the offing; but, with this exception, all else fell beneath the edge of the sword. The Order of St. John had on that day to mourn the loss of every one of those brave sons into whose hands she had committed the defence of Smyrna. It had been Timour's custom, after a universal massacre of this description, to raise a pyramid with the heads of his enemies, but the numbers who fell upon the present occasion not being sufficient to carry out the design with the magnitude he contemplated, he directed, that in raising the structure, as an economy of the human material, only one head should be used between two stones. On the day succeeding that in which this sad calamity befel the Order, their fleet appeared in sight, bearing reinforcements for the garrison from

Rhodes, but the Tartar caused his artillerists to hurl with their machines some of the aforesaid heads at the advancing foe, who by this means perceived that they had arrived too late to succour their unfortunate brethren, and consequently returned once more to Rhodes, to bear the melancholy intelligence of the loss of Smyrna.

Timour prepared to follow up his advantages by an attack upon Rhodes, but he was totally unprovided with the fleet necessary for the operation, and whilst he was striving to supply the deficiency, news reached him of an invasion of the eastern provinces of his dominions by the king of India, and he was compelled to retire in haste from the scene of his recent successes, to grapple with his new enemy, and fortunately for the peace of Christendom, and more especially the Order at Rhodes, he did not live to return to Europe, but died about two years after, from the effects of the constant debauchery in which he had revelled. Naillac seized the earliest opportunity which this suspension of hostilities gave him, to restore, as far as possible, the loss sustained by the capture of Smyrna. With this view, he made himself master of a Turkish fortress on the main land, at about twelve miles from the island of Lango, built upon the ruins of Halicarnassus, celebrated as the site of the tomb of King Mausoleus, and as the birthplace of Herodotus. Not deeming this fortress sufficiently secure for his purpose, he caused another to be constructed, at the end of a peninsula which jutted out into the sea. All of which the art of fortification at that time was capable was lavished with unsparing hand on this new work, no less than seven enceintes covering it from attack. On the inner retrenchment was placed the line of the Psalmist,

"Unless the Lord hath built the city the watchman watches but in vain;" whilst the fortress itself received the name of St. Peter Liberated. This new outpost of the Order was garrisoned with a strong body of Knights, and every precaution taken to ensure its security from the hostile neighbours by whom it was surrounded. It ere long became a point of refuge for all who sought to escape from the iron yoke of Mussulman tyranny, and the unfortunate Christian, flying from slavery, found ever within its hospitable walls a ready welcome and sure protection. As aids in the defence, a race of dogs was kept within the fortress, whose keen instincts led them to perform, with the utmost tact and sagacity, the part of sentinels, and, by their assistance, the guard were ever sure of receiving early intimation of the approach of the enemy.*

* The extent to which this sagacity on the part of these canine allies of the Knights was carried, led to numerous legends in their honour, for the veracity of which the ancient historians were ever ready to vouch. They assert that their sense of smell was so keen, that they could invariably detect a Moslem from a Christian; allowing the latter to approach unquestioned, whilst the presence of the former was certain to elicit a prompt alarm on their part. Bosio records a still stranger instance. He recounts that upon one occasion a Christian captive, who was escaping from his thraldom, was so hotly pursued by the Turks that he was unable to gain the friendly shelter of the fortress. As the only means of attaining a temporary refuge, he threw himself into a dry well, where, owing to the vigilance of his foes, he was compelled to lie concealed several days. In this predicament he must have been starved to death, had not one of these celebrated mastiffs discovered his retreat, and brought him daily a portion of his own food. The keeper of the dogs, perceiving that he was losing his condition, watched him, to ascertain the cause, and was thus led to discover the fugitive, who was rescued and brought into the castle.—*Bosio*, vol. ii. lib. iv.

In the year 1403, Naillac was enabled to render good service in a mediatorial capacity between the king of Cyprus and the Genoese; a dissension having arisen, which, if not quelled, would have had the most calamitous results for Christianity in the Levant. The Genoese republic had succeeded in obtaining possession of the town of Famagosta, in Cyprus, and it was held by a garrison in their name, to the great dissatisfaction of the king, James de Lusignan, and the rest of the inhabitants. An attempt was consequently made by him to expel the intruders, and a regular siege was laid to the town. When the news of this act of hostility reached Genoa, which was then under the protection of France, an expedition was at once despatched, led by the Marshal de Bourcicault, for the purpose of checking his designs. This fleet put into the harbour of Rhodes, where they were received with every mark of hospitality; but Naillac, who was keenly alive to the danger of the quarrel, implored Bourcicault, before he proceeded to extremities, to allow him to attempt a mediation between them. This was readily granted, and the efforts of the Grand-Master were so successful, that the siege of Famagosta was raised, and the expeditionary force under Bourcicault rendered no longer necessary.

Under these circumstances, the French commander, unwilling to return without having struck a blow, joined with De Naillac in a predatory excursion against the principal Saracenic seaports of Asia Minor. In this undertaking, nothing of any importance was effected, owing to the vastly superior forces which met them on every side, but they realised a booty sufficiently considerable to repay them for their exertions. On their return to Rhodes, they were surprised to find a proposal

from the sultan of Egypt, whose territories they had just been ravaging, to enter into an alliance with them. The fears which he entertained of the aggressive policy of his neighbours, the Ottoman Turks, led him to take this step; and Naillac was sufficiently far-sighted to make the most of his opportunities. The treaty which he concluded with the sultan gave the Christians permission to enclose the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem with a wall; to maintain six Knights of the Order of St. John within the city, free from all tribute, who should be permitted to carry on the hospitable duties of their profession in favour of all pilgrims led thither by devotion; that Christian slaves might be redeemed, either by purchase, or by exchange with a Saracen; and that consuls might be maintained in Jerusalem, and in the other principal cities of the Holy Land. For the benefits of this treaty, so advantageous to Christianity, the world was indebted entirely to the diplomatic ability of the Grand-Master at Rhodes.

Unfortunately, at this time there was but too great a need for the exercise of this talent on his part. The schism which had for so many years torn the bosom of the Church, and introduced the spirit of dissension within his own Order, was still raging furiously; and Naillac, finding matters comparatively tranquil in the East, proceeded to Europe, to endeavour by his presence to reclaim the recusant languages to their duty. The two famous councils which were held for the purpose of healing this schism were both confided to the protection of Naillac and the fraternity; and when the latter concluded, by appointing Martin V. to the papal chair, and dethroning all his rivals, the Grand-Master had the lively satisfaction of witnessing the close

of that dispute which had been so pernicious to the interests of his Order. The contumacious languages all promptly gave in their adherence to the new régime; and, supported by the authority of Martin, Naillac was at once recognised as their Grand-Master. After having held an assembly at Avignon, and another at Ancona, De Naillac returned to Rhodes in the year 1420, where his appearance, after the lapse of eleven years, was greeted with the most unbounded enthusiasm.

The last act of his long and useful life was presiding at a general council, which he convoked to meet at Rhodes shortly after his arrival. In this council all the acts which led to the reunion of the Order were ratified, and a feeling of joy pervaded the assembly at the prospect of their being once more reunited under a common head. To Naillac this last scene was one of intense gratification, and served to shed a halo on his latter moments, which were fast approaching; for in the following year he breathed his last, comforted with the feeling that he left the fraternity, at whose head he had been for so many years placed, at union with itself, at peace with its neighbours, and in a most flourishing state of prosperity. The satisfactory condition in which De Naillac left his government must be attributed far more to his diplomatic and political abilities, than to the success of his arms; indeed, the martial exploits of the fraternity during his rule were never productive of much beneficial result, and in some cases, such as the battle of Nicopolis, and the defence of Smyrna, were disastrous in the last degree; but, however strongly the fortune of war might have declared against him, he was invariably enabled, by his political sagacity, to restore the equilibrium, and to maintain his Order in that

proud position which they had so long held in the eyes of Europe.

The rule of his successor, Antoine Fluvian*, although extended over a period of sixteen years, was marked but by few events of political importance; the only foreign incident, worthy of record, being the invasion of Cyprus by Alnazar Aldaher, the Mamelouk sultan of Egypt, in the year 1423. The Order of St. John rendered every assistance of which they were capable to James de Lusignan, the Cypriote monarch, on this occasion, but their efforts were unsuccessful; and the combined forces of Rhodes and Cyprus were defeated in a decisive action by the Egyptian sultan, and the king himself taken prisoner. In spite of this defeat, the Knights continued to maintain the struggle on behalf of the unfortunate inhabitants, nor did they cease their efforts until peace was declared with the Egyptians, the captive king paying a ransom of 30,000 gold florins, the greater portion of which was advanced by the treasury of Rhodes.

Two general chapters were held at the convent in the years 1428 and 1432, in which numerous regulations for the well-being of the Order were established; the most important among them was the appointment of all novices who should enter the Order to some commandery within their language, where they should be not only maintained, but also trained to those knightly and religious duties incident in their new profession. Hitherto, much scandal had been brought upon the Order by the wandering life led by many of the youthful novices, who, looking upon the badge of their profession merely

* He was also sometimes called La Rivière.

as a distinction flattering to their vanity, appeared, totally to neglect the duties inculcated by their vows. To check this demoralising irregularity, the council wisely determined to place their young aspirants under the care of those commanders who, from their age and position, would be best enabled to undertake their governance. Knights were also forbidden to establish themselves at the court of Rome; the pernicious example of Heredia having been subsequently so frequently followed, as to render a restriction of this nature highly necessary. The last act of Fluvian's life was to rebuild the great hospital of the island, and to endow it from his own funds; and in the month of October 1437 he died, leaving by his will the sum of 200,000 ducats as a gift to the public treasury.

John de Lastic, Grand-Prior of Auvergne, was raised to the magisterial seat in succession to Fluvian; and the high reputation which he bore, both as a commander and a politician, was brought to the test shortly after his succession. The sultan of Egypt, Abou Said Jacmac, had commenced preparations for a descent upon Rhodes, and unfortunately the Ottoman sultan, who had hitherto always acted as a check upon the Egyptians, had determined upon this occasion, if not to support them, at all events to offer no opposition to their enterprise. After vain attempts at negotiation with both the sultans, de Lastic, who perceived that the issue must be decided by arms, strengthened his position by every possible means, and quietly awaited the attack of his foe. At length, in the month of September 1440, the Egyptian fleet, to the number of eighteen galleys, accompanied by numerous smaller craft, appeared before Rhodes. The intrepid conduct of the

inhabitants prevented the Moslems from attempting an immediate disembarkation, and before they had decided on their line of conduct, the fleet of the Order, led by their Grand-Marshal, left the security of their harbour, and advanced to meet the enemy. The imposing front thus presented, terrified the Egyptians, who, declining the action, took advantage of the darkness of night to beat a retreat. The Marshal, however, divining their intent, pushed rapidly after them, and so completely outsailed them, that when they appeared before the castle of Lango, they found him already there awaiting them. Finding their manœuvre thus rendered useless, the Egyptians once more hauled off, and took shelter beneath the batteries of a Turkish fort, where they considered themselves in security from any attempt on the part of the Hospitallers. The Marshal, however, whose chivalric spirit spurned the thought of returning to Rhodes without having made any attempt upon his enemy, dashed at their fleet as it lay at anchor, and a sanguinary engagement ensued; which, without any decisive result on either side, ended by the retreat of the Egyptians to their own land, and the return of the Hospitallers to Rhodes.

The sultan, indignant at the failure of this expedition, commenced active preparations for another on a larger and more formidable scale. The Rhodians were, on their side, by no means idle, and when, in the month of August 1444, the invading army landed on the island of Rhodes, the white cross banner was floating in proud defiance on its walls, and every heart within their circuit beat with a proud consciousness that they were fully prepared to drive back the intruders with ignominy into the sea. For forty days the siege was

prosecuted with the greatest energy; but the Moslem could make no impression on those well-manned ramparts, and after leaving the flower of his army to repose beneath that soil, where, instead of a triumph, they had found a grave, the Saracens returned discomfited to Cairo. This second failure induced the sultan to sue for peace, and in the year 1446, this war, which had threatened destruction to the Order, but which, through their gallantry and prudence, had brought complete discomfiture upon their opponents, was terminated by an amicable treaty.

The efforts which had been made to resist the aggression of the Infidels, had caused a large but very necessary expenditure; whereby not only the treasury at Rhodes, but also the credit of the Order, had been strained to the utmost. To meet this difficulty, the amount of responsions payable by each commandery was, by the order of a general chapter, increased for a limited period, in order that funds might be provided to pay off the liabilities which had been incurred. Several of the commanders who, living in indolence and luxury in Europe, appeared unwilling to contribute, even by their purses, to the maintenance of their Order at Rhodes, appealed to the Pope against this decree. Nicholas V., who was then on the chair of St. Peter, being instructed on only one side of the question, wrote a strong letter of remonstrance to the Grand-Master. To this missive Lastic forwarded a reply, signed by the whole of his council, in which, though most respectful and temperate in its language, he maintained his point with much dignity. The Pontiff appears to have been perfectly satisfied with the response, and to have withdrawn all opposition to the measure; but the

commanders notwithstanding continued obstinate, and peremptorily refused payment. Considering the state of peril in which they were placed, and the absolute necessity that existed for perfect union and mutual support amongst themselves, the council, in this dilemma, decided upon a measure which had no precedent in the annals of the institution, and which nothing but the necessity of the times would have warranted. They vested in the hands of the Grand-Master powers completely dictatorial, and resigned in his favour that authority which they themselves had lately exercised. Thus armed, Lastic made but short work with the recusants. Pursuing with the utmost vigour those who persisted in disobedience, and taking measures even to strip them of their robe, and expel them from the Order, he rapidly reduced the most refractory to submission; and at the expiration of three years, he once more resigned his extraordinary powers, after having restored perfect unanimity and obedience throughout the fraternity. Well was it for the Knights of St. John that at this crisis they were governed by one in whom they could venture to vest the irresponsible powers of an autocrat, and who knew so well how to wield that authority to their advantage.

On the edge of the political horizon were fast gathering the clouds of that storm which was, ere long, to burst with such fury on their devoted island; and which would call for the most unanimous energy and devoted zeal on their part. Upon the death of Timour, the four sons of Bajazet took advantage of the interregnum caused by the disputed succession among his children, to wrest from the hands of the Tartars the various portions of their father's empire. The three

elder, after short and disturbed reigns, gradually fell in fraternal combats, and upon the death of Moussa, whom he himself murdered, Mahomet I., the youngest of Bajazet's sons, found himself in undisputed possession of his father's territories. After a reign of eight years, he was succeeded by his son, Mourad II., under whose sway the Ottoman power was extended even beyond what it had attained in the days of Bajazet. Had it not been for the patriotism and gallantry of Hunyad and Scanderbeg, who, from their mountain fastnesses, maintained an incessant and often successful warfare against his aggressions, he would undoubtedly have effected the capture of Constantinople, and thus have accomplished the utter overthrow of the shattered relics of that once proud and powerful Byzantine empire. This dream of his life he was not, however, fated to accomplish, but the first act of his successor, Mahomet II., was to achieve that in which his father had failed.

The scenes which were enacted upon this occasion, when the last of the Paleologi fell beneath the conquering scimitar of the Ottoman, form a dark page in Eastern history; and the speech of Mahomet, "Constantinople first, and then Rhodes," warned the Knights, if such a caution were necessary, that it behoved them to set their house in order, for that, ere long, they would see the lion at their gates. We therefore find Lastic, in 1453, writing a circular to every European commandery, summoning his Knights to hasten instantly to the defence of Rhodes. In this letter he states: "After weeping over the miserable downfall of the illustrious Constantinople, as we have recorded in preceding letters, this is to command you to come hither instantly, where the want of your

assistance is most urgent, for not a day elapses without our hearing of some new slaughter of Christians by the Grand Turk, and of his inhuman cruelties, not from idle rumour, but from our own confidential emissaries, who record only what they have seen with their own eyes; so that it is a certain fact that the most fearful horrors have been already perpetrated. Wait for no further letters, or exhortations, or commands from us, but the instant you receive these lines, set out at once for Rhodes."

The fall of Constantinople had been no sooner accomplished, than Mahomet sent a herald to Rhodes to demand the payment of tribute from the Order, and the acknowledgment of his supremacy over their domains. To this demand Lastic returned a noble and determined refusal, and at once prepared to meet the consequences which he was well aware that refusal must evoke. He despatched the commander D'Aubusson to the various courts of Europe, to endeavour to procure such aid, either in men or money, as the exhausted enthusiasm of the monarchs of Christendom might still induce them to contribute for the defence of their advanced post in the Levant. It was in this embassy that D'Aubusson, whose name was destined eventually to shed such lustre over his Order, displayed the first symptoms of that ability by which he was afterwards so distinguished. Although he was everywhere met by the most repelling lukewarmness and chilling neglect, by dint of energy and perseverance he succeeded in extorting from both Charles VII. of France, and Duke Philip of Burgundy, considerable sums of money; part of which he expended in the purchase of arms and military stores, and the

remainder he forwarded to Rhodes, to be laid out in such manner as the Grand-Master might deem expedient.

Meanwhile, the most energetic measures were being taken to increase the strength of the fortifications. Ditches were deepened and widened, ramparts were heightened and strengthened, and no point omitted, which, in the opinion of the engineers of the day, could tend to insure the security of the place. Whilst in the midst of this occupation, De Lastic fell sick, and, after a short illness, died on the 19th of May 1454. Although, as has already been recorded, the title of Grand-Master was first awarded to Hugh de Revel, and was afterwards continued to most of his successors, still Bosio and Sebastian Paoli both assert that De Lastic was the first head of the Order of St. John who definitively and officially was recognised as bearing a claim to that title.

James de Milly, Grand-Prior of Auvergne, was nominated the thirty-fifth Grand-Master, upon the death of Lastic. The danger of an invasion from the Ottoman emperor being imminent, Milly, who was at the time of his election resident in his priory, lost no time in reaching Rhodes, where the presence of the supreme head was felt to be indispensable. The storm which had been so long gathering was, however, not yet ready to burst. A powerful coalition of the principal Christian nations interested in the politics of the East, had induced Mahomet to postpone for a while his hostile intentions towards Rhodes; and, most fortunately for the Knights, the Hungarian campaign of 1456 ended in a disastrous and bloody defeat, which Hunyad succeeded in inflicting upon the Turks. Milly followed up this check to the Ottoman arms by ravaging their coasts

with his galleys, and utterly ruining the commerce of the Infidel. Mahomet, despite the check which he had received in Hungary, was not the monarch to submit tamely to such aggressions on the part of those whose destruction he had already vowed; and, breathing out vengeance against their audacity, he rapidly equipped a fleet, with which he proposed to carry the war into the enemy's country. The first point of attack of this expedition, which numbered a force of 18,000 men, in addition to the fleet, was the fortress of Lango, one of the outposts of Rhodes; but the Knights who held this castle succeeded in repelling the attack, and driving the invaders back to their ships. A similar attempt upon the island of Simia had no better success; and although at Rhodes they succeeded in effecting a disembarkation, and in ravaging some of the defenceless villages, they did not venture to make any attempt upon the fortress itself; but returned home, bearing with them very slender fruits for the costly armament which had been prepared.

It had been a leading principle in the diplomacy of the fraternity to endeavour, as far as practicable, to maintain a peace with one of their Eastern neighbours, whilst they prosecuted a war with the other; it was, therefore, with the utmost dismay that now, when a desperate struggle might at any moment be looked for with Mahomet and his Ottoman forces, a cause of quarrel should spring up with the sultan of Egypt, with whom they were at this time most anxious to maintain peace. The dissension arose from a disputed succession to the crown of Cyprus. John III. had, at his death, left the crown to his daughter Charlotte, widow of John of Portugal, and afterwards married to Louis of Savoy. He had also left a bastard son, named James, whose am-

bitious spirit led him to endeavour to wrest the power from his sister Charlotte. Louis of Savoy, however, who, in virtue of his wife, maintained the sway of the kingdom, drove the pretender from the island, who took refuge with the sultan of Egypt. The crown of Cyprus had of late years always paid an annual tribute to this potentate, and James sought to enlist the interests of the sultan on his side, by promising to double the tribute if he would maintain his cause, and place him on his sister's throne. Charlotte, on the other hand, threw herself on the protection of the Knights of St. John, where the justice of her cause, and, as some say, the beauty of her person, raised her many warm partisans. An embassy was at once despatched to the sultan of Egypt, and he, who was at that time loth to quarrel with his redoubtable neighbours, would in all probability have thrown over his own *protégé*, had he not received a message from the Ottoman emperor, promising to support him in maintaining the cause of the bastard against the Knights of Rhodes. A descent was consequently made upon the unfortunate island of Cyprus, and in spite of the utmost efforts of the Hospitallers, the Egyptians overran the whole island. It was in the midst of this war that the galleys of the Order captured from out of some Venetian vessels a quantity of Infidel merchandise, which, together with its owners, they carried off in triumph to Rhodes. The haughty queen of the Adriatic was so incensed at this act, that a fleet was at once equipped and despatched to that island, demanding instant restitution of the captured property; threatening, in case of refusal, the most severe reprisals. The more youthful among the Knights were for daring the Venetians to do their worst; but Milly,

who felt that he had already more enemies to contend against than he was able to meet, checked the rash suggestion, and, by a prompt restitution of the disputed prize, mollified the incensed republic, and had the gratification of witnessing their fleets depart peaceably from his shores. The struggle ended in the establishment of the bastard as king of Cyprus, and the abandonment of her claims on the part of Charlotte.

At this most inauspicious moment, a dispute broke out in the midst of the fraternity, which at one time threatened to aid materially the enemies who were compassing its overthrow from without. From the time of its first formation, the French element had much preponderated in the ranks of the Order, and of the seven languages into which it was divided, three belonged to that nation: the consequence was, that most of the leading dignities were invariably bestowed upon French Knights, and the languages of Spain, Italy, England, and Germany complained bitterly of this preference. They asserted that, in a body composed indifferently of the nobility of all Europe, the highest posts should be given, irrespective of nation, to the senior Knights; on the other hand, the French argued that as the Order was originally established by them, and the other nations only admitted by adoption, they were fairly entitled to maintain within their own languages the chief offices of state, and that as one of the leading dignities was attached to each language, there was no just ground for complaint in the matter. The principal subject of dissatisfaction centred itself in the post of Grand-Marshal, an office which had always been attached to the language of Auvergne, and which, carrying with it as it did the powers of Captain-General over the island of

Rhodes, and a direct control over all the other offices of state, invested its holder with powers inferior only to those of the Grand-Master.

It was while these disputes were at their height, that James de Milly died of an attack of gout, in the year 1461, and Raymond Zacosta, castellan of Emposta, found himself elected to the vacant government. The nomination of a Spanish Knight to the supreme dignity, after the successive rule of so many Frenchmen, at a time when the disputes between the nations ran so high, tells that the majority were opposed to the pretensions of the three languages of France. The first act decreed by the council under their new chief also marks the same result, and clearly demonstrates the influence of a Grand-Master in its decisions. This was the division of the language of Aragon, removing from it the kingdom of Portugal, together with the provinces of Castile and Leon, which were erected into an eighth language, to which the dignity of Grand-Chancellor was thenceforth attached. This compromise appears to have quelled the feud, and the Knights, no longer at discord with themselves, commenced once again to prepare for the attack which was still threatening them.

Raymond availed himself of their restored unanimity, to commence the erection of a fort upon a rock which jutted out into the sea at the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes. The importance of this spot had long been recognised, but hitherto the want of means, and the pressing demands of other parts of the fortress, had prevented steps from being taken for its occupation. Now, however, Duke Philip of Burgundy having forwarded a considerable remittance for the strengthening of the fortifications, the Grand-Master determined upon losing

no further time in securing this salient post. It received the name of Fort Nicholas, from the fact of a small chapel, dedicated to that saint, which was encircled by its enceinte; and in the eventful siege to which the course of events will shortly bring the history of the Order, this new stronghold became the centre of those desperate struggles of which their island was so soon to be the theatre. The arms of the prince to whom they were indebted for the funds by which they were enabled to commence its erection, were placed in gratitude upon its walls, although the amount received from him fell far short of that required for its completion. Zacosta, who felt how important it was that the work should be promptly completed, took a step for that purpose which the exigencies of the case certainly warranted, but which became the cause of much dissatisfaction. It has been already stated, that at the time he was elected to the Grand-Mastership, Raymond was holding the post of castellan of Emposta; under ordinary circumstances, he should, upon attaining the higher dignity, have resigned the latter. This, however, he resolved not to do, but, still retaining the castellany in his own hands, he devoted its revenues entirely to the completion of the new fort. He also divided the whole line of defences around the city in such a manner, that a specific portion should be appropriated to each language, to be maintained and defended by them, and to receive their name. It is worthy of record, that in the keen competition and emulation which such an arrangement naturally elicited, the portion appropriated to the English language became celebrated over all the others for the perfect order in which it was maintained, and the decorations with which it was embellished.

The siege and capture of Lesbos, which took place in 1465, and in the defence of which a body of Hospitallers had taken part and lost their lives, became a new warning to the fraternity to maintain their vigilance against their relentless and ever-advancing foe. Zacosta, who was determined not only to do his own duty, but also to compel those over whom he had been called to rule, to be equally ready in the discharge of their obligations, sent a special citation to the various receivers of the Order, to press forward the payment of all such responsions as were due. These latter, however, becoming wearied of the constant demands made upon them for preparations against an attack which seemed always impending, but which never took place, appealed to the court of Rome against the requisitions of their chief. Pope Paul II., upon the receipt of this complaint, directed that the general chapter which had been summoned to meet at Rhodes, should assemble at Rome, and that the Grand-Master should appear there in person. Although Zacosta might, had he so desired, have pleaded the necessity of his continuous residence at the convent, he nevertheless at once prepared to obey the mandate, and anxious to confront his enemies and calumniators, proceeded to the seat of papal authority. There his success was so complete, and the explanations which he gave to the Pontiff so satisfactory, that his enemies were clothed with shame, and the Pope hastened to make an earnest, though tardy, reparation for the wrongs which his suspicions had done him. He was overwhelmed with honours and distinctions, and the favour he enjoyed enabled him to compel the refractory commanders, now no longer supported by superior authority, to pay their just tribute into the treasury.

This dispute having ended in a manner far more favourable to Zacosta than at one time appeared probable, he prepared for his return to Rhodes. Unfortunately, however, his design was crossed by a violent illness, which, assuming the form of pleurisy, rapidly brought his existence to a termination, in the early part of the year 1467. The Pope, with whom he was at the time in high favour, decreed that his remains should be awarded the honour of a grave in the cathedral of St. Peter, where his funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence. His tomb lay on the left side of the chapel of St. Gregory, beneath a marble slab, on which was engraved the effigy of the defunct chief, and a Latin inscription asserting his titles, age, &c.*

The opportunity thus offered to the Pontiff, by the demise of a Grand-Master within the limits of his own immediate jurisdiction, and the consequent necessity for a prompt re-election, was not thrown away by Paul. He at once convoked the required assembly, from amongst such members of the general chapter as were still in Rome; and there, under his own dictation, the prior of Rome, John Orsini, was raised to the vacant dignity. In spite, however, of the papal influence, exerted though it was with the utmost vigour, the election was keenly

* Upon the occasion of a repair to the chapel of St. Gregory, the tomb was transferred to the foot of the confessional of St. Peter, and the slab to the crypt of the church, where it still exists. Its inscription ran thus: —

PETRO RAIMUNDO ZACOSTÆ DE ISPANIA CITERIORI;
SAC. DOM. HOSP. S. IO. HIEROSOLYMITANI M. MAGISTRO.
QUI GENERALI CAPITULO SUI ORDINIS ROMÆ CELEBRATO, LXIIII.
ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNO, VITA FUNCTUS EST.
CONSILIO, PIETATE, CHARITATE INCLITO.
HOC MONUMENTUM, RELIGIONIS DECRETO, PATRI, B. M. POSITUM.

contested; and the prior of St. Gilles, Raymond Ricard, was defeated only by a single vote, having obtained eight to the nine which were recorded in favour of Orsini. Had the election been held anywhere but at Rome, there is but little doubt that Ricard would have been the new Grand-Master.

The general summons to Rhodes which inaugurated the elevation of Orsini, was responded to with enthusiasm; and a great multitude of Knights, and others interested in the welfare of the Order, flocked thither to greet their new chief, and to assist him in his projects of defence. Most important amongst these new acquisitions, stood Peter d' Aubusson, whose name has been already mentioned, and who was destined to fill a very important page in the annals of the Order. Eminently talented as an engineer, and well read in all the most modern and improved systems of fortification, he was felt to be the man to whom, in the present crisis, all should look for advice and assistance. He was named Captain-General and inspector of the island, and under his direction the ditches were enlarged wherever he perceived that they would add to the security of the place, and a wall was raised on the sea-side of the town, of nearly four hundred feet in length and twenty feet in height: the cost of which work was defrayed from the private purse of the Grand-Master.

Although, at this time, no actual war had been declared between Mahomet and the Order, but on the contrary, more than one treacherous and ill-regarded truce had been concluded; still constant skirmishes were for ever taking place between the rival powers. In the year 1470, however, the spies who were maintained by the Hospitallers at the court of their Eastern foe, and, if report speaks

truly, even within the very walls of his harem, gave timely notice that a gigantic armament was being prepared, the ultimate destination of which was as yet a secret within the bosom of the sultan. Whilst it remained uncertain whether Rhodes or the Venetian island of Negropont was to be the point of attack, an attempt was made by the republic of the Adriatic to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Hospitallers. Had this offer been made in good faith, it would, under the peculiar circumstances of the situation, have been highly advantageous to both parties; but when its terms came to be discussed, it was soon perceived that the Venetians designed, under cover of an alliance, to render the Order entirely tributary and subservient to themselves. Their offers were, therefore, peremptorily declined; but nevertheless, when the storm actually burst upon the shores of Negropont, the Rhodians hastened to despatch to their assistance a squadron, under the command of D' Aubusson and Cardonne. Any benefit which might have accrued to the beleaguered island from the aid thus proffered, was rendered futile through the craven cowardice of Canalis, the Venetian admiral; who, at a critical moment, when the combined squadron of which he was the commander might have rendered the most important assistance to the besieged, abandoned them to their fate without a struggle, and left the island in the hands of Mahomet.

The fall of Negropont would indubitably have been followed without delay by the siege of Rhodes, but, providentially, the Knights were permitted a little longer respite, owing to a war having broken out between the Ottoman sultan and the shah of Persia. The latter potentate had entered into a league with the Christian

powers most interested in the preservation of the independence of the Levant, to check the aggressions of Mahomet, which were equally dreaded on his Asiatic, as on his European, frontier. In order to place his army on an equality with that of his enemy, the shah, who was very deficient in artillery, had obtained from Europe the assistance of a large body of gunners and cannon founders, by whom that branch of his army was materially strengthened; so that he was enabled to ere long assume an attitude of opposition against his formidable neighbour.

During the lull caused by the appearance of this new ally, John Orsini died, in the year 1476, at so great an age, that during his later years, his rule over the Order had been little more than nominal; the commander, D'Aubusson, who had latterly been raised to the rank of Grand-Prior of Auvergne, having been in reality the supreme director of the government. It is a curious incident, in reference to the last hours of Orsini, that a few months prior to his decease, he was taken with a syncope, during which his attendants, imagining that he was dead, made every preparation for his funeral obsequies, and he would most undoubtedly have been buried alive, had he not fortunately shaken off the attack prior to the solemnisation of the funeral rites. His resuscitation was, however, but of short duration; an attack of dropsy carrying him off two months later.

During these years of his lieutenancy, D'Aubusson had not been idle in adding to the defences of the city of Rhodes. Three new towers were constructed in the enceinte, and a huge chain was placed at the entrance of the harbour, by which its ingress might be blocked at will. To provide for the large expenditure entailed

by these works, the treasury of Rhodes was driven to have recourse to every possible shift. Amongst other measures taken for this purpose, the council appropriated in their present emergency a quantity of old plate, which was lodged in the sacristy of the cathedral of St. John, and which bore the arms of Elyon de Villanova, by whom it had been presented to the church. It was promised that, on the arrival of less troublous times, this gift should be restored, and that, in the meanwhile, it should be considered as a loan, rendered justifiable by the urgency of the case.

The election of a successor to Orsini was little more than a matter of form. This was not a time when either petty jealousies or local interests could be permitted to interfere in the nomination of a chief, under whose guidance it was generally felt that the fortunes of the Order would be called upon to withstand the powerful attack which had been so long preparing against it, and on whose judgment it mainly depended whether they should ride out the withering tempest unscathed, or be for ever overwhelmed in its furious onset. There was one name upon every tongue, and it was that of a man who had already shown himself well worthy of the confidence so universally placed in his powers, so that when the council announced to the expectant fraternity the name of Peter d'Aubusson as their new chief, the decision was greeted with shouts of acclamation, which testified how fully that selection had met with public approval.

CHAP. XI.

THE FAMILY OF D'AUBUSSON. — DESCRIPTION OF RHODES. — THE THREE RENEGADES. — ARRIVAL OF THE TURKISH ARMY AT RHODES. — FIRST ATTACK ON THE TOWER OF ST. NICHOLAS. — BREACH OPENED IN THE JEWS' QUARTER. — ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE GRAND-MASTER. — SECOND ATTACK ON THE TOWER OF ST. NICHOLAS. — SECOND ADVANCE AGAINST THE JEWS' QUARTER. — EXECUTION OF MASTER GEORGE. — LAST ASSAULT OF THE TURKS, AND ITS REPULSE BY THE KNIGHTS. — CLOSE OF THE SIEGE, AND EMBARKATION OF THE OTTOMAN ARMY.

THE family of Peter d'Aubusson was one of the most ancient in the province of Auvergne, having become ennobled during the ninth century, since which period it had given forth many offshoots whose names have been recorded in contemporary history. The ramifications of this family have included within their limits a connection both with the dukes of Normandy, and also with the Saxon kings of England; so that, although a Frenchman by birth and education, there must ever exist a sympathy for his high name and gallant achievements on this side of the channel. Long before he had become elevated to the supreme dignity which he now held, D'Aubusson had rendered himself indispensable to his Order, and the public confidence in him had been raised to such a pitch, that his followers were prepared to yield him the blindest obedience upon all occasions.

The city of Rhodes, at this time, was a very different place from what it had been when first torn from the hands

of the Turk, in the commencement of the fourteenth century. Since that period, the Knights of St. John had lavished all those treasures with which their Order had been endowed, partly in the construction of works of defence, as perfect as the engineering science of those days could devise, and partly in the decoration of their town, replete as it was in natural beauties, with those magnificent buildings, the ruins of which yet remain to attest its grandeur. Conspicuous among these were the Grand-Master's palace, in itself a citadel, and the church of St. John, whose mouldering relics are still the admiration of all true lovers of architecture.* The situation of the town was on the sea-shore, embracing within its circuit the two harbours known as the outer and the inner port. The outer port was formed by a long strip of land running in a north-easterly direction, and jutting out into the sea, so as to enclose between it and the shore-line a very sheltered and commodious anchorage from all but northerly winds. On the rock at the extremity of this neck of land stood the tower of St. Nicholas, whose erection by Zacosta has been already mentioned. This tower, the first object which greeted the pilot on nearing the shores of Rhodes, was justly considered the most important point for the defence of the town. Its position, surrounded as it was almost entirely by sea, rendered it difficult of attack at all times; and from sudden surprise, or a coup de main, it might be considered perfectly secure. The inner port was enclosed

* Unfortunately, the severe earthquake which visited the island of Rhodes in October 1856, destroyed a vast number of the ruins which, till that period, were standing in a good state of preservation, and swept away nearly the last relics of that fraternity whose deeds have rendered the locality famous.

by two moles, running respectively in a northerly and easterly direction, so as to enclose within their shelter an expanse of water nearly circular. At the extremities of these moles had been reared two other towers, named St. Michael and St. John, which, together with the tower of St. Nicholas, may be said to have constituted the principal strength of the place on its sea-face.

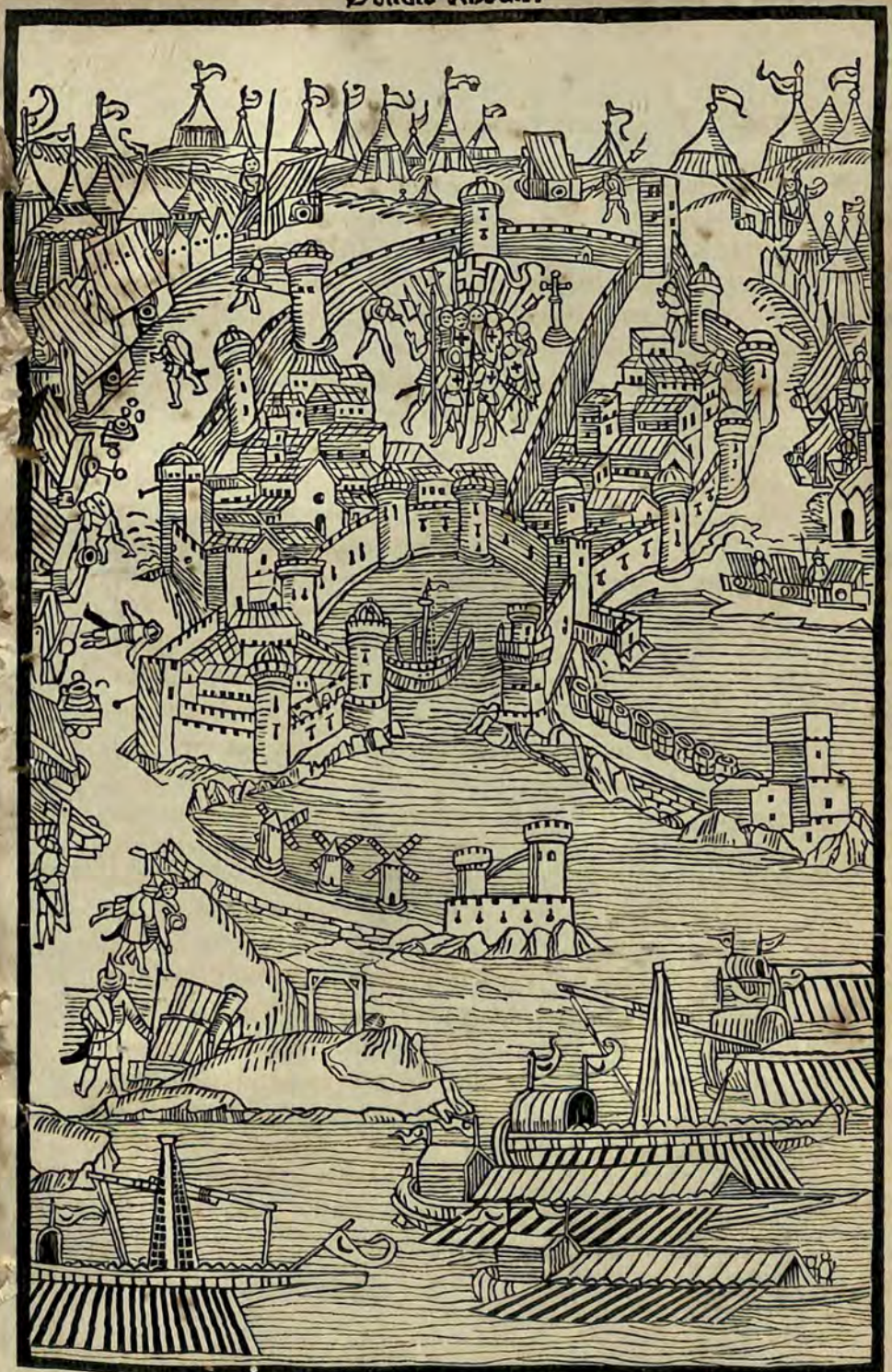
It has been a matter of much mystery, and, consequently, of considerable dispute, upon which of these three points the far-famed Colossus of Rhodes, one of the most extraordinary of the seven wonders of the world, actually stood. Tradition has generally pointed to the two rocks of St. Michael and St. John, affirming that the statue was reared with one foot upon each of these points, and that vessels entering the harbour were enabled to pass in full sail between its legs. Without wishing in any way to throw a slur upon the colossal proportions of this miracle of ancient art, and with all due deference to the grandeur of conception evinced by its originator, the probabilities of this site are not great. If, as was most likely, the statue had been erected as a mark of guidance to vessels approaching the harbour, the rock of St. Nicholas would have been a much more natural and suitable site, and the dimensions of the figure might well have raised it to the dignity of a wonder of the world, without claiming for it a stride of fifty fathoms.

The land defences of the city consisted of a double rampart, subdivided by thirteen towers, and five bastions; the protection of which was allotted to the different languages in the following order: commencing at the north, on the spot where the pro-

montory of St. Nicholas joined the main land, came the language of Germany; and then in succession those of Auvergne, England, Aragon, Provence, and Italy. The sea-face, constituting the inner line of the harbour, and which was also protected by a strong rampart, was confided, one-half to the language of France, and the other to that of Castile and Portugal. The form of the town, when thus encircled by its ramparts, partook very much of that of a crescent, in the upper horn of which dwelt the aristocracy of Rhodes. Here were the various inns of the languages; huge piles of buildings, having in their appearance much that was palatial, and which, in conjunction with the churches, and dwellings of the aristocracy, gave to that portion of the town a very imposing air. The lower town was much more thickly peopled, and its buildings were of a vastly inferior description: still it was regular and well built, and presented that thriving and bustling appearance which invariably denotes a commercial town at the acme of its prosperity. As is the case in all Eastern cities, the Jews dwelt in a quarter set apart for themselves, in the south-eastern corner of the town, where they were covered by the ramparts of the language of Italy.

The amazing fertility and luxuriant vegetation of the island had converted the country, outside the walls, into one vast garden. Far as the eye could reach, there appeared on every side fields, groves, and orchards, clothed in all the brilliancy of summer verdure; whilst from the summit of St. Stephen's hill, an eminence which overlooked the town from a short distance on the western side, the ground stretched away in a gradual descent towards the foot of the ramparts, broken, how-

Obsidio Rhodie.



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Facsimile of an old cut of Rhodes.

[To face p. 336 of Vol. I.

ever by hillocks and undulations, which, in their pleasing variety, gave life and animation to the landscape. Here and there on every side the ground was dotted with chapels, summer-houses, and other rustic buildings, to the great enhancement of the picturesqueness of the scenery; but, unfortunately, highly detrimental to the defence of the town. D'Aubusson had, it is true, exerted his power with no sparing hand to sweep away the most obnoxious of these buildings, and nothing short of a stern sense of the urgency of the case, and a blind confidence in his unerring judgment, would have enabled him to enforce his orders. Still, however, much remained to afford cover to an advancing foe, so that, to quote the quaint language of Mary Dupuis, himself a member of the Order, who, although not actually present at the siege, arrived there almost immediately afterwards, and wrote its history from the facts which he gleaned from the actors in it, "around the city of Rhodes lay the most admirable country in the world for carrying on a siege, for all around the said town there were numerous gardens, filled with little churches and Greek chapels, with old walls, and stones, and rocks, behind which cover could always be found against the garrison, to such an extent, that if all the artillery in the world had been inside the town, it could do no harm to those that were without, provided they did not approach too close."

The use of artillery had been too recent an introduction, and was as yet in far too crude a state for the disadvantages of the dominant hill of St. Stephen to have become properly appreciated by the defenders of Rhodes. Had it been otherwise, we may rest assured that to the keen eye and the commanding genius of

D'Aubusson such a weak point would have become at once apparent, and its retention by the garrison assured, by the construction of a powerful detached fort. In the present day, and with the present power of artillery, the occupation by a besieger of an eminence so situated, would necessarily in a few days have involved the reduction of the place; but in those times it was very different, and from the fact that not only the siege was unsuccessful, but also that the hill of St. Stephen was never used by the Turks for battering purposes, we may gather that the Grand-Master was guilty of no omission of engineering prudence, in neglecting to occupy the post on behalf of his garrison.

Such was the town and such the general aspect of the island, which, after having been kept for a space of nearly forty years in a state of perturbation and alarm, was destined almost immediately to witness that storm of Infidel invasion burst over its head, which had been so long impending. Once again did D'Aubusson pen a circular to his grand-priors, urging upon them the immediate transmission of reinforcements and supplies. A copy of this document is still in existence amongst the papal archives, and there is something very thrilling and exciting in the plain manly language in which his demand is couched. Without straining after effect, or the slightest display of oratorical power, he appeals with such earnest and manly simplicity to the chivalry still existing in every knightly bosom, that no wonder was it his call was responded to by enthusiastic crowds from every priory in Europe. Not only members of the Order, but noble knights and valorous soldiers, who trusted to win renown in the struggle that was impending, although they were serving beneath a banner to

which they owed no peculiar obligations, crowded to the scene of anticipated strife, and gladdened the gallant heart of D'Aubusson by the constant acquisition of some of the noblest warriors in Europe, to swell the ranks of his dauntless garrison. Foremost amongst these was his own elder brother, the Viscount de Monteuil, who at the head of a considerable body of retainers, volunteered his services at this crisis; and was, by the unanimous voice of the council, elected to the post of captain-general, which he promptly accepted, and in which he did knightly service, under the supreme direction of his younger brother.

Whilst, however, the Knights were thus preparing themselves at all points to meet their foe, Mahomet, on the other hand, disappointed at perceiving that his designs had been fathomed, determined if possible to blind the fraternity as to the imminence of their danger, and with that view directed his son, Prince Zizim, for his pride prevented him from appearing himself in the negotiation, to submit proposals for a peace to the Grand-Master. In this project Mahomet had two objects in view: on the one hand, he hoped to lure the fraternity into a false sense of security; and on the other, he trusted, by the selection of a fitting agent, to combine the services of a spy with those of an ambassador. Under his directions, the prince selected as his envoy a renegade Greek, who on the capture of his native island of Eubea by the Turks, had embraced Islamism, in the hope of bettering his fortunes. This man, whose name was Demetrius Sophiano, possessed all the cunning and aptitude for intrigue which have ever been the predominant characteristics of his race, and proved himself a most valuable tool in the hands of his new em-

ployer. In matters of diplomacy, however, Mahomet had in D'Aubusson to deal with a man who was fully his equal, and whose extensive system of espial had rendered him fully acquainted with the real motives by which the Ottoman sultan was actuated. Perceiving that a short truce would give time for such reinforcements to arrive as were still lingering on the way, he yielded a ready assent to the propositions of Demetrius, merely taking objection to the question of tribute, in which he averred he was not authorised to treat without special reference to the Pope. Whilst, therefore, this reference was being made, he proposed that a temporary truce should be concluded, during which the commerce of both nations should be freed from aggression. This proposal was at once accepted by Mahomet, who imagined that he had succeeded in throwing the enemy off their guard; and was only undeceived when he discovered that D'Aubusson was taking advantage of this temporary lull to render yet more complete his preparations for defence.

Demetrius was by no means the only tool that Mahomet found ready to his hand at this crisis. In fact, a man who like the Ottoman sultan was destined to sway an empire to which constant accessions were being made, through the lust of conquest, must have found frequent necessity for the services of traitors; and as ample remuneration and rapid advancement were sure to await the successful informer, there were never wanting about his court men who had that to sell which it was his interest to buy. His intention of attacking the island of Rhodes upon the first favourable opportunity had become so generally known, that accurate information as to the fortifications and general locality of the town was con-

sidered a highly marketable commodity, and all persons who were in possession of it hurried to Constantinople, in the hopes of realising a high price for the article. Demetrius had, during his visits to Rhodes, made himself as well acquainted with the general outline of the works as his position admitted, and doubtless received ample compensation for his vigilance; but there were two other men who at this time came forward to contest with him the palm of rascality, and to share its disgraceful fruits. One of these was Antonio Meligala, a Rhodian, who having expended his patrimony in debauchery, sought to restore his ruined fortunes by abandoning Christianity and taking service with the Turk. Some writers assert that he was a Knight of St. John, and had been stripped of his habit, owing to the shameful recklessness of his life. However this may be, it is very clear not only that he resided in Rhodes, but also that he carried away with him a very accurate plan of the place. Whether he received any reward for this act of treachery has not been recorded in history, but it matters little, for he never enjoyed the results, having died of a loathsome disease during the transit of the besieging force to their point of attack.

Another and far more gifted traitor presented himself in the person of George Frapant, commonly called Master George. This man, who was by birth a German, had been trained as an engineer, in which science he attained a marvellous perfection, and has been described by enemies, as well as friends, as a man of surprising genius and admirable skill. In fact, the historians of the Order, even whilst heaping the most grandiloquent abuse upon the unfortunate head of poor Master George for his rascally treason towards themselves, cannot

refrain from drawing attention to the brilliancy of his talent. Caoursin calls him a man of the most subtle ingenuity, whilst the honest soldier, Mary Dupuis, after recording of him that he was an excellent director of artillery, proceeds to dilate on his personal advantages as "a fine fellow, well formed in all his limbs, and of a lofty stature, with great gifts of language, being both willing and entertaining." These opinions are re-echoed and endorsed by Bosio, Naberat, and Vertot; subsequent historians, whose opinions were probably formed from the author's already quoted, and therefore not of equal value; still, however, enough has been said to prove that Master George was no ordinary man, and the admirer of talent and genius must ever regard with regret the misapplied powers and perverted energies of this gifted renegade.

The plans and designs which this trio of traitors submitted to Mahomet were accompanied with such tempting descriptions of the unprepared state of the island, the decay of the fortifications, which they averred were old and crumbling, and the paucity of its garrison, that he at once decided to carry out his long-cherished project. The chief command of the forces destined for the operation, was entrusted to a fourth renegade, a Greek of the Imperial house of Paleologus, who at the capture of Constantinople had forsworn his religion, and taken service under Mahomet. With his new master he rapidly gained honour and advancement from the zeal with which he was ever ready to persecute his former faith, and as the Knights of Rhodes had in particular been distinguished by his bitterest animosity, the sultan deemed that he would be the fittest agent to achieve their destruction. This nomi-

nation was by no means distasteful to Paleologus Pasha, (for such was the dignity to which he had attained in the Turkish service), as owing to the seductive and flowing accounts which the renegades had given of the facilities of the enterprise, he was most anxious to secure the opportunity, which success would afford him, of raising himself yet higher in his new profession.

Whilst preparations were thus commencing on the Ottoman side, the Knights were on their part taking the last measures which they conceived necessary for ensuring their security. At this critical juncture they were gladdened by a proposal from the sultan of Egypt to enter into an alliance with them. This prince beheld with a jealous eye the impending attack of his powerful Eastern neighbour on the island of Rhodes; nor did it suit his policy that that island should fall into the hands of one already too mighty for his safety. An alliance was speedily concluded whereby the Knights were secured from any aggression on the side of Egypt during their struggle with the Turks, and were also enabled to draw large supplies of provisions from their new friends. One measure was still considered necessary to render their security more complete, and this was temporarily to remove from the powers of D'Aubusson those checks and restrictions with which the jealousies of preceding ages had always fettered the Grand-Mastership. Now that they were led by one in whom they had such unbounded confidence, and when the times required that he should act with a promptitude and an energy unattainable under such a régime, they unanimously agreed to free him from its yoke, and to grant him the unlimited authority of a dictator, until the troublous hour was past. Once before, it will be

remembered, had the same step been taken, and then with the happiest results; it was, therefore, with the more readiness that they again resorted to the measure, having already experienced its successful operation. D'Aubusson at first appeared unwilling to accept the undivided responsibility thus imposed upon him, but his reluctance, whether real or feigned, was speedily overcome, and when the council broke up, it was announced to the citizens that from that moment he was their sole and indisputable chief. Never was authority vested in hands more capable of exercising it, and the same confidence which D'Aubusson felt in himself he was at that critical moment able to impart to his friends.

The plans by which Mahomet proposed to carry out his invasion were these: as a preliminary step, a fleet was to be equipped under the command of Paleologus Pasha, which was to make a descent upon the island, commit such ravages as should harass and terrify the inhabitants, and in some degree exhaust the strength of the garrison before the main struggle commenced. Early in the ensuing spring the bulk of the army were to march across Asia Minor, to the port of Physco, a commodious harbour distant only eighteen miles from the island of Rhodes; whilst the artillery and other stores were to proceed to the same spot from Constantinople by sea. The pasha, after having harried the Christians to the best of his ability, was directed to be at the place of rendezvous at the appointed time, and joining his fleet to the combined force there assembled, was to make his grand descent upon the point of attack.

In accordance with these instructions, Paleologus sailed with a considerable squadron in the winter of

1479; and at once made a bold dash at the island of Rhodes itself. Such precautions had, however, been taken by D'Aubusson to prevent the disastrous effects of descents such as these, by the construction of fortified posts in various convenient localities, behind which the inhabitants of the open country might in cases of alarm find shelter, that the pasha gained but little by his move. His troops effected their landing unopposed, but found the country deserted, and the inhabitants, whom he would willingly have carried away into slavery, secure from his grasp. Whilst his troops were scattered in disorganised bands, engaged in the vain search for plunder, a sudden descent was made upon them by a body of Hospitallers; who, taking them by surprise and at an advantage, slew a considerable number, and drove the remainder without difficulty back to their ships.

The pasha, disgusted at this humiliating repulse, sheered off from Rhodes, and bent his steps towards the island of Telos, where stood a fort garrisoned by the Order. This he attempted, after a few days' battering, to take by storm, but was once again doomed to meet with a bloody repulse. The fort was evidently not to be captured by a coup de main, and Paleologus, crest-fallen and humiliated, was fain to retire at once to Physco, there to await the arrival of his army. A bad commencement this to so great an enterprise, and an ill omen for its ultimate success.

One morning towards the latter end of April, in the year 1480, the sentinel stationed on the top of St. Stephen's hill descried the hostile fleet passing within sight of the island. The alarm was at once given, and the Grand-Master with his principal officers assembled on the spot, to watch its onward progress. The critical

hour was, however, not yet come, and the fleet, which was bearing the artillery and other stores from Constantinople, made for Physco, their pre-arranged port of rendezvous. Having there been joined by the remainder of their force, the army was embarked; and the expedition, which numbered 70,000 men, and 160 vessels, exclusive of small craft, arrived within sight of Rhodes on the 23rd of May 1480. The warnings which had so frequently been given on previous occasions had enabled the Knights to make every preparation for this critical moment. The inhabitants had all taken refuge within the town, whither their property had likewise been conveyed. Nothing that was capable of removal was left to become the spoil of the invaders: even the unripe corn having been reaped and borne away. An attempt was made to prevent the landing, which was, however, futile: the magnitude of his force and the vast number of his ships enabling the pasha to effect a disembarkation on several points at once.

His forces were encamped at the foot of St. Stephen's hill, where he himself pitched his tent; and, on the following day, he despatched a herald to summon the town to surrender. He was well aware that this demand would be rejected with disdain by the Knights, but he had worded his message craftily with the view of seducing to his side the Greek inhabitants of the place, to whom he promised a general amnesty and an increase of privileges under the Turkish sway. His designs, however, were frustrated by the staunch courage of the Rhodians, who preferred staking their all with the fortunes of the Hospital, to the tempting but dangerous offers of Paleologus. When we consider that the population of Rhodes all professed the Greek

faith, it is a matter of wonder that they should have remained loyal under the sway of an Order so eminently Roman Catholic as that of the Hospital. Either the differences and jealousies between the rival creeds must in those days have been far less embittered than in later years, or the Order must have learnt a lesson in religious toleration such as the professors of their faith have never been celebrated for practising, and which in those times could have found an existence in no other part of the world. There are facts which show that both of these causes must have operated to produce such laudable results. As a proof that the differences between the two religions were then by no means so marked as at present, may be mentioned the fact that a miraculous image of the Virgin, which was held in the highest esteem by the Knights, was, during the siege, lodged in a Greek chapel, where it received the promiscuous devotion of both sects. This image had been brought by the Knights from Acre on their expulsion from that city, and, after their arrival in Rhodes, had been deposited in a chapel built for the purpose on an eminence about a mile to the north of the town. This hill was called Mount Philerme, and the image bore the name of our Lady of Philerme. When the approach of the Turks rendered this chapel no longer a place of security, the image was brought within the defences; nor was any objection made to its deposition within a Greek chapel by the members of either faith. No surer token than this could be given of the much greater unanimity and good fellowship which must have then existed between the rival creeds than can be at present found.

The Turks had no sooner established themselves in

their camp than they commenced to make reconnaissances in front of the walls. It suited neither the policy of D'Aubusson nor the temper of his garrison to permit these approaches to be continued unchecked. A sortie was consequently made by a chosen body of cavalry, led by the Viscount de Monteuil in person, in which, after a slight combat—little more indeed than a skirmish—the Turks were driven back to their encampment. In this affair Antonio Meligala, the second of the three traitors who had hoped to reap such golden fruit from the results of their villany, met his death; his horse having been killed, and he, encumbered with all his armour being unable to disengage himself, the advancing squadrons of the garrison charged over his prostrate body and trampled him to death in the mêlée. The Knights in this struggle lost one of their number, a member of the language of Auvergne, named Murat, who, having advanced too far in the ardour of the moment, was surrounded by spahis, from whom he received his death wound, and by whom his head was borne away in triumph on the point of a spear.

Meanwhile the pasha had been in close consultation with Master George as to the point of attack upon which he should decide. That worthy, whose keen eye instantly comprehended the importance of the post of St. Nicholas, suggested that the whole weight of the besiegers' force should be thrown upon that point. To this the pasha, who had every confidence in the opinions of the German, promptly assented, and a battery was at once commenced within the gardens of the church of St. Anthony: a convenient spot whence the powerful battering train which had been brought with the army might vomit its ponderous missiles against

the frowning rampart of St. Nicholas. The Knights, on their side, anxious to impede the construction of so obnoxious a work, opened fire upon the embryo battery with some guns which they placed in the gardens of the post of Auvergne, from which spot they were enabled to enfilade the offending structure. Spite of all obstructions the work continued to rise,—gabions, timber, and other appliances being brought to bear to hasten its completion; and at length, all being prepared for their reception, three of the pasha's great basilisks were seen to peep portentously through the embrasures. These basilisks, of which sixteen had accompanied the army to Rhodes, had been cast under the directions of that most useful of men, Master George, and were of such stupendous dimensions that their very appearance might well spread dismay amongst the ranks of the garrison. They were eighteen feet in length, and were designed to cast balls of from eight to nine palms in magnitude. It is not probable that in those early times these enormous guns were fired with a large charge of powder, or that they ranged for any considerable distance. It appears likely that they trusted more to the weight of the missile, than to the impetus with which it was projected, for the desired effect to be caused; still it could have been by no means a reassuring incident to the defenders of St. Nicholas Fort to be battered incessantly with such gigantic artillery. The result speedily manifested itself; although the walls of the fort had been constructed with extreme solidity, they were not capable of withstanding the weight of metal which Master George had caused to be hurled against them, and ere long a gaping breach on the landward side marked the successful practice of the cannoneers.

Whilst this operation was being conducted, another incident had taken place which materially affected the fortunes of the wily German. In pursuance of a plan laid down between himself and Paleologus, the dauntless scoundrel—for with all his crimes it is impossible to deny him the virtue of the most daring courage—presented himself before the walls early one morning, and besought admission into the town as a deserter from the Turkish camp. Taken before D'Aubusson, Master George was by no means lacking a plausible tale to account for his appearance. Entirely sinking for the moment the awkward fact of his apostasy from the Christian religion, he averred, with the most captivating ingenuousness, that although he had been many years in the service of Mahomet, his conscience would not permit him to assist in carrying out the designs of that monarch against the fraternity of Rhodes, and that finding himself unable in any other manner to escape the obnoxious service, he had determined upon the hazardous step of deserting into the fortress. D'Aubusson had had too many dealings with men as wily and as plausible as Master George to give a ready credence to this tale of Christian remorse. He knew too well that the day was past when men made such sacrifices for their faith, and he also knew what a fearful risk Master George would, if really a deserter, be running in the event of the capture of the place and of his falling once more into the hands of his former employers, a risk which he little thought Master George's newly awakened zeal for the Christian religion would prompt him to run; whilst, on the other hand, it appeared to him far more probable that the cunning deserter was in collusion with the foe without. Treachery, however, if treachery there were, was, under the circumstances, best encountered by dissimulation; and the

Grand-Master determined to glean what information he could from the German's undoubted genius for war, without trusting him with one iota that could in any way be made available by the pasha. Master George was welcomed as cordially as though no suspicions had been aroused, but he soon discovered that there were those in his train whose sole duty appeared to be to watch his every motion, and to mark his every word. One or two abortive efforts to search out the feeblest points in the defences soon taught him that any further attempts in that direction would inevitably bring a speedy destruction upon his head; and so, if he did not prove of much value to the defenders, they at all events completely neutralised all co-operation with the besiegers. On cross-examination as to the force under the pasha, he dilated with the most terrifying unction on its magnitude and complete preparation. Their artillery, he said, was of such gigantic calibre as had never before been brought into the field, and on this point he certainly spoke with some authority, having founded the cannon himself. The army was numerous, well disciplined, and amply supplied with stores and provisions of every kind, and was moreover animated with the most fanatical zeal to achieve the destruction of this bulwark of Christianity. Cheering intelligence this, to be brought by a deserter into a besieged town; and the question naturally arose, how came so long-headed a man voluntarily to place himself in a position of such imminent danger; whereupon Master George, mutely laying his hand upon his breast, would plead the pangs of an awakened conscience with such earnest and apparent truth that many were led to believe him sincere.

Meanwhile, the battery in St. Anthony's garden had been doing its duty, and the confused mass of rubbish

daily increasing at the foot of St. Nicholas' tower, as well as the gaping breach in its walls rapidly enlarging in dimensions, showed to D'Aubusson that further efforts must be made, or the post would speedily be lost. Hurrying to the spot as large a reinforcement as could be contained within the enceinte of the work, he at the same time prepared every obstacle his ingenuity could devise to impede the successful operation of an assault. Taking advantage of the ruined mass of masonry which had been dislodged by the pasha's cannon, he with it cast up a new defence across the mole. Small batteries were made wherever they could flank the approaches to the breach, and in the lesser harbour on the west of the tower, where the water was very shallow, he sunk planks of timber filled with large nails to impede the enemy from wading across to the assault. Having thus done all which his foresight could suggest to meet the impending blow, he calmly awaited the shock of the onset.

On the morning of the 9th June the alarm was given, and a large squadron of the enemies' fleet was seen bearing down from the northward upon the devoted tower. Arrived within a sufficient proximity to their destination, the Infidels jumped overboard, and with loud shouts of valour swarmed up the mole on every side, and made a dash at the breach. Proudly conspicuous upon its summit stood Peter d'Aubusson, arrayed in all the panoply of his Order, whilst around him were the flower of that chivalry from which the Turk had so often recoiled in terror. Anxiously was the struggle gazed at by both friend and foe upon the mainland. The battlements overlooking the harbour were crowded with citizens, eager to watch the progress of the fray; whilst on the brow of St. Stephen's hill stood Paleologus

himself, in all the keen and intense excitement natural to one with whom success would be everything, and failure perdition. Amidst the smoke and dust, however, little was to be seen, though ever and anon, as a passing gust of wind would raise for a moment the dark veil which over-canopied the scene of contest, might be distinguished that same band, somewhat thinned perhaps in numbers, and worn with toil, yet still standing in proud defiance on their shattered wall, whilst at its base were strewed the gory corpses of those who had fallen beneath their invincible falchions. The same glimpse, however, would show the Infidel, undaunted at the opposition thus offered to his attack, still swarming up the blood-stained pathway, and striving to surmount that obstacle which had proved fatal to so many of his brethren.

Throughout this eventful day, D'Aubusson retained his post with the defenders of the castle; utterly regardless of his own life, he was to be found wherever the fray was thickest, or support most needed; and his exposure of his own life on this occasion was so reckless, as to call forth the earnest remonstrance of his friends. Having been struck on the head by a huge fragment of stone, which destroyed his helmet, he coolly selected another from the head of the soldier who was nearest to him, and when remonstrated with by the commander Carette, who urged upon him the value of his life at that critical moment to the welfare of the Order, he replied with a smile, "If I am killed, there will be more cause of hope for you, than of fear for me;" implying thereby his opinion of that Knight's fitness to become his successor. At this point, whilst the fate of the day seemed still to hang in the balance, the Knights brought some

fire-ships, which they had previously prepared, to bear upon the galleys of the enemy; the attempt was completely successful; several caught fire, and the remainder, eager to escape from so imminent a danger, drew off from the attack. At the same moment, the garrison of St. Nicholas made a vigorous and united dash at the breach; the ladders were overturned, and such of the foe as had gained a footing on the summit were once more hurled headlong to its foot. The flanking batteries, which had been constructed to bear upon this point, poured a destructive fire upon the confused and disordered mass which stood huddled at its base. Many of their leaders had fallen, their fleet had abandoned them, and they themselves were being mowed down by a deadly fire from the ramparts. Can it be wondered at, that under such an accumulation of obstacles, the determination of the assailants should at length give way? The mangled corpses with which the moat and breach were covered, bore ample testimony to the determination with which the attack had been persisted in; but the might of the Christian had proved too great for them, and so at last, in a direful state of confusion, they sought by a speedy flight to obtain shelter from the pitiless storm of missiles which were being hailed down upon their shattered battalions. The terror caused by the fire-ships had been so great, that few of the fleet which had borne them to the scene of action were now remaining to carry off the discomfited survivors. Many, therefore, were drowned in the vain attempt to cross over to the mainland, and the remainder were borne in shame and dismay from the scene of action.

The feelings of the pasha, as from the summit of St. Stephen's hill he witnessed the untoward conclusion of

the fray, were far from enviable. His troops had hitherto been taught to consider themselves invincible, and the foe had not been found who could withstand the shock of their determined onset. They had trusted that as it had been with the turbaned warrior of the East, so it would also prove with the mailed soldier of the cross; and they had now learnt their mistake at a grievous cost. That breach, which, had it been guarded by a Moslem garrison, would scarce have dared to offer the slightest resistance, had, when crowned by these heroes of the Hospital, rendered futile their boldest efforts, and hurled them back discomfited to their camp.

The pasha, however, was not a man to despond at the first failure; and he was speedily devising a new attack, under more favourable auspices. Conceiving that the Knights were probably exhausting their utmost resources in the protection of this point, he determined to break ground in a new direction, where he might meet with a less obstinate resistance. For this purpose, whilst D'Aubusson was forming a triumphant procession to return thanks to the miraculous image of Mount Philerme, for the glorious success of the preceding day, the pasha was moving his heavy battering train to the southern side of the city. The Jews' quarter was selected as the new point of attack; and ere long the thunder of artillery, and the shock of the projectiles hurled against its massy battlements, marked the intention of the besieger. The ramparts, at this point, were of extreme thickness, but at the same time of great age, and therefore ill suited to resist the fearful battering to which they were now exposed.

The pasha was not content to confine his efforts to a

single point, but at the same time harassed the garrison by a general bombardment on all sides. From the huge mortars, which formed a part of his siege train, he hurled into the city gigantic fragments of rock, and other ponderous projectiles, trusting thereby so to annoy the inhabitants that they should be unable to protract the defence with energy. He also poured a vast quantity of light balls and other combustible ingredients into the town, purposing therewith to set it on fire; but against all these dangers D'Aubusson's ready genius was enabled to provide a remedy. He created a temporary shelter for such of the inhabitants as were not required in the defence, by the erection of large sheds built close under the walls, in such sites as would be as far as possible out of range. Others took refuge within the vaults of the churches, and similar places of security, so that Paleologus Pasha appeared to gain little by his move, beyond the expenditure of a vast quantity of ammunition. True it is as Mary Dupuis records, that one shot struck the vaulted roof of the refectory in the Grand-Master's palace, and that after descending through the stone floor into the cellar, it there destroyed a hogshead of that generous fluid wherewith D'Aubusson was wont upon festive occasions to regale his friends. The loss of the liquor appears to have made more impression upon the mind of the annalist than the damage done to the building, but if the casualties were confined to such losses as these, the pasha would have done better to have economised his powder. The danger of fire was averted by an organised band, whose sole duty it was to watch the flaming projectiles in their descent, and quench them promptly. This duty was rendered all the easier from the incombustible nature of the town, which was com-

posed almost entirely of stone. The roar of this bombardment was so great, that it was heard from the island of Lango, a hundred miles westward of Rhodes, to that of Chateau Roux, the same distance eastward.

The state of the rampart in front of the Jews' quarter soon became such as to render prompt measures necessary for the safety of that point. D'Aubusson, therefore, at once commenced the construction of a retrenchment which should cover the exposed point. For this purpose he levelled the houses in rear of the breach, sank a deep ditch in a semicircular form, and behind this new obstacle raised a brick wall, supported by a terrepleine, and of sufficient thickness and solidity to resist the battering engines of the foe. This work, which was of considerable extent, was pushed forward with incredible rapidity. The Grand-Master himself set the example, not only by giving general directions on the spot, but by taking his own turn at the manual labour which was necessary, handling the pick and shovel with that vigour which he imparted to every duty in which he engaged. The effect of this good example soon made itself apparent in the increased zeal with which the wall was pushed forward; not only did the Knights and upper classes amongst the Rhodians join vigorously in the work, but also women and children, nay, even the secluded inmates of the religious houses themselves casting off, at this perilous crisis, the ordinary restrictions imposed upon them by their profession, joined in the universal enthusiasm, and performed the tasks of ordinary workmen. The result of such unparalleled efforts speedily manifested itself in the rapid elevation of a new barrier, which the pasha, after having completed the demolition of the

Jews' rampart, found extended in its rear, rendering futile all the efforts he had made, and the vast quantities of ammunition he had expended.

Up to this point Paleologus had made his advances towards the capture of the place in an open and legitimate manner: now, however, finding himself foiled by the determined bravery of the garrison, whose resistance he justly considered as materially strengthened by the personal energy and dauntless skill of their chief, he bethought him of continuing the contest in a more subtle and treacherous manner, using for his purpose weapons common enough in the warfare of the East, but repugnant to every feeling of true chivalry. By the assassination of D'Aubusson, he trusted to remove the principal obstacle to his success, and to carry out this sinister object, he employed two deserters, the one a Dalmatian and the other an Albanian, who had joined his army at the commencement of the siege.

Whilst he was preparing his infamous scheme with these wretches, a despatch arrived from Constantinople, brought by Ali Pasha, in which he was informed that Mahomet was himself approaching with a reinforcement of 100,000 men, and a large park of artillery. It is more than probable that this intelligence was completely false; still it obtained its object in raising the enthusiasm of the besiegers to the highest point. The two deserters, in furtherance of their project, presented themselves at one of the gates of the city, with a plausible tale of having been captured during one of the sorties, and of having just succeeded in making their escape. This story met with ready credence, and they were welcomed into the town with the warmest congratulations. Their first step was to spread the intelligence of Mahomet's

approaching arrival with overwhelming reinforcements; a piece of news which, as they intended, created the utmost dismay throughout the garrison.

Certain Knights of the Italian and Spanish languages carried their terror so far, as to form a cabal for the purpose of inducing the Grand-Master to yield the town before the arrival of their dreaded antagonist. For this purpose they secured the co-operation of one of his secretaries, an Italian, named Filelfo, who undertook to be their mouthpiece. D'Aubusson, upon hearing from his secretary what was passing, summoned the malcontents into his presence, and with cutting sarcasm informed them, that since they were in such terror of Mahomet, they had his permission to leave the island, and that he would himself protect their retreat; "but," added he, with a stern glance, "if you remain with us, speak no more of surrender, and rest assured that if you continue your cabals, you shall meet with that fate which you so justly merit." This combination of raillery and sternness had the desired effect; the recusants threw themselves at his feet, and implored him to give them an early opportunity of effacing the memory of their cowardice in the blood of the Infidel. Filelfo soon discovered that his master's confidence had been withdrawn from him, owing to his participation in this unfortunate affair, and was much distressed in consequence. The Albanian deserter, who had an acquaintance with him, deemed that he was probably now in a mood when he might easily be rendered subservient to their plot. Gradually and cautiously he endeavoured to excite and stimulate his resentment at the neglect he was suffering, and finding, as he imagined, that he was succeeding in his object, he eventually unfolded the

entire plot, making the most brilliant offers to Filelfo, in guarantee of which he showed him letters from the pasha. The Italian, who was warmly attached to D'Aubusson, and who felt that his present disgrace was only a just punishment for his indiscretion, feigned to fall into the views of the deserters, merely with the intention of discovering their treachery, having done which, he at once revealed the entire conspiracy to his master. The immediate arrest of the would-be assassin followed this disclosure, and his confession having compromised his comrade, the latter was also seized, and the guilty pair were both sentenced to instant execution. The excitement of the garrison, upon learning the treachery that had been designed against their beloved chief was such, that they rushed upon the criminals, and forestalling the just sentence of the law, tore them in pieces in the fury of the moment.

Foiled in his attempt at a cold-blooded assassination, Paleologus had once more recourse to open warfare, and, disheartened at the ill success of his efforts against the Jews' quarter, returned again to his first point of attack, the tower of St. Nicholas. To facilitate the approach of his assaulting columns, he constructed a large floating bridge, which was to stretch from the Church of St. Anthony to the rocks at the foot of the tower, and sufficiently wide to admit of six men passing abreast.

Under cover of the darkness, a Turk succeeded in fixing, at the extremity of the mole, a large anchor beneath the surface of the water, through the ring of which he pushed a rope, intending by its means to warp the bridge across the inlet to its destination. This operation, however, was not performed with that secrecy

and success which the wary Turk imagined had been attained. An English sailor, by name Roger Gervase (for history has recorded the appellation of this naval hero who, even in those days, was found to maintain the reputation of the British tar for gallantry and hardihood) espied the proceeding, and quietly awaiting the departure of the Turk, as soon as the coast was clear, detached the rope from the anchor, and leaving the former loose in the water, carried the latter in triumph to the Grand-Master. D'Aubusson was so gratified with the promptitude and decision of the gallant tar, as he stood radiant and dripping before him with his ponderous trophy still in his grasp, that he rewarded him with a present of two hundred golden crowns, wherewith it is to be hoped the heart of Roger Gervase was duly gladdened.

The Turks, having completed the construction of the bridge, made their arrangements for an immediate assault. The former attack, the failure of which was still rankling in their bosoms, had been undertaken in broad daylight; they determined, therefore, upon this occasion to try the effect of a night surprise. The 19th of June was selected for the important attempt, and about midnight their various detachments were set in motion. It had been arranged that, whilst the bridge was being hauled into its position, a large body of troops, shipped for the purpose on board some of their smaller craft, should approach the mole, and make a sudden dash at the shattered tower, in the hope that perchance, through the darkness of the night, they might take the garrison unawares. The incident of the anchor had, however, forewarned D'Aubusson that the moment of assault was close at hand; every step that prudence could suggest,

or the engineering skill of the Grand-Master could devise, had been taken to meet the impending shock; and through the darkness of that night there were keen eyes peering in silent watchfulness on the crest of the breach, whose vigilance it was vain for the Turk to attempt evading. The first strain upon the rope, wherewith the pasha had hoped to warp his bridge across the creek, showed that his device had been discovered, and the besiegers were consequently brought to a stand-still at their very earliest step. Unwilling to forego the advantages of his extensive preparations, Paleologus decided upon proceeding with his attack, notwithstanding the failure in this branch of the attempt. He caused the bridge to be towed to its destination by a number of boats, and while this operation was being conducted with laborious slowness, he gave the signal for the advance of the troops embarked. They had no sooner approached within sight of the mole, than they were discovered by the garrison, and the alarm being promptly given, a desperate fire was opened upon them from all sides. Secrecy being no longer attainable, the Turks hurried from their boats, and dashed at the breach, shouting the war-cry of their nation. The same immovable phalanx which had before withstood them with such success upon a previous occasion, was now once again drawn up prepared for their reception.

The struggle was carried on by both parties with equal obstinacy and determination, but in the darkness of the night little could be distinguished of the desperate combat which was raging around the walls of the town. The scene was ever and anon lit up by the flashes of artillery, which poured its destructive fire upon the crowded

masses of the besiegers' battalions; whilst the lurid glare spread around by the Greek fire, plentifully showered upon the assailants, added yet another terror to the picture. Amidst the roar of the guns, the clashing of arms, the shouts of the combatants, and the groans of the wounded, the strife continued with unabated violence, presenting a spectacle to those who watched its progress, at once awful in its grandeur, and terrible in its excitement. As though to add to the general horrors of the moment, the fire-ships of the garrison were once again let loose upon the enemy's fleet, towards which they drifted in a column of flame, bearing panic and confusion in their course. The early light of a summer's dawn broke upon this scene of savage strife, whilst success had as yet refrained from declaring itself on either side. Guided, however, by the momentarily increasing light, the artillerists of the garrison were enabled to direct their fire with greater accuracy, and speedily accomplished the destruction of the bridge, which up to this point had been most useful to the Turks for bringing up their supports. They also succeeded in sinking four of the galleys, which, in spite of the fire-ships, continued to hover round the point of assault, whilst others bore testimony in themselves to their unwilling contact with their flaming antagonists, by the sheets of fire in which they were enveloped. Throughout the assault the principal leader of the Turkish forces had been a young prince named Ibrahim, closely related to Mahomet, with whom he was a great favourite. The daring and hardihood exhibited by this youthful warrior had gone far towards maintaining the vigour of the assailants, and although he had received several wounds during the night, he had still maintained

his post among the combatants. At this critical juncture, when his followers were commencing to quail beneath the deadly fire poured upon them, he was struck to the earth by a blow which deprived him of life, and the Infidels of their leader. This loss decided the fortune of the day; the breach was abandoned, the sea was once again covered with drowning men, and the routed relics of the pasha's force found a watery grave their only alternative from the avenging sword of the Christians.

The loss of the Turks upon this occasion was between two and three thousand, amongst whom were to be numbered some of the best officers in their army, and the impression made upon the survivors by this second failure was so great as to render the pasha's hopes of ultimate success highly problematical. He himself was so dismayed and terror-stricken by the untoward events of the night, that he confined himself to his tent for three days, refusing either to see or be seen by the captains of his host. D'Aubusson availed himself of the respite thus obtained, to clear the mole of the mass of corpses with which it was encumbered. Rare pillage was there for his troops amidst the heaps of Infidels who had on this spot met their end, and the costly apparel, and jewels of gold and silver, snatched from the lifeless corpses by whom they were no longer needed, were a meet recompense to the hardy warriors who had held their ground so well. Whilst an ocean grave was considered a sufficient burial for the Turk, D'Aubusson was careful to inter with every honour such of his own force as had fallen in the fray, and by the time the pasha had recovered from his despondency, all traces of the struggle had disappeared.

After three days' seclusion, Paleologus became himself again, and roused to a pitch of fury at the losses his army had sustained, decided upon a more vigorous prosecution of the siege, with a view to avenge his defeats, and restore his character in the eyes of his master. Returning once more to the northern side of the city, after having in disgust abandoned all further attempts upon St. Nicholas, he commenced the construction of a battery on the edge of the ditch, opposite the retrenchment in the Jews' quarter. Here was an opportunity for the disgraced Knights of Italy to recover their fair fame in the eyes of their chief. By means of a secret communication, they descended in the dead of the night, to the number of fifty, into the bottom of the ditch, and thence by means of ladders, silently ascended the counterscarp, and rushed impetuously into the progressing battery. The Turks, taken by surprise, offered but little resistance, the struggle, which was rather a massacre than a fight, lasted but a few minutes, and the victorious Italians remained masters of the battery. The uncompleted work was rapidly destroyed, the gabions and other woodwork set on fire, and the gallant little band, having utterly destroyed the lodgement of the besiegers, returned triumphantly into the town, bearing upon the points of their lances the heads of such antagonists as had fallen in the fray. This brilliant achievement deservedly restored the actors in it to the good graces of D'Aubusson, who felt, that from men capable of such deeds he had nothing further to fear on the score of pusillanimity.

The pasha was likewise taught by this incident, that in conducting an attack against such vigorous and experienced foes as the defenders of Rhodes, he could not with

impunity neglect any of the orthodox measures of advance, tedious though they were, by which greater security was to be attained. Opening his approaches in a more methodical and scientific order, and driving galleries under ground to the edge of the ditch, he gradually regained that point in comparative security from whence he had been so rudely ejected. From these galleries he caused to be poured into the ditch so vast an accumulation of rubbish, that it gradually became filled to an extent, that rendered it no longer an obstacle to his attack.

The energies of D'Aubusson were taxed to the uttermost to resist this new and most threatening approach. In the dilemma he bethought him of Master George, whose proceedings during this eventful siege had been so closely watched, that he had become, if useless as a friend, at least innocuous as a traitor. Mysterious arrows had more than once been shot into the town, bearing on them billets, warning the garrison to beware of Master George. Opinions were divided as to the object of these missives; some regarding them as the emanations of a foe who, irritated at the deserter's abandonment of their cause, was anxious to achieve his destruction at the hands of his new friends; others again, amongst whom was the Grand-Master, considered the caution a deep-laid piece of cunning on the part of the pasha, in order that by evincing this apparent animosity against the German, the garrison might be more ready to look on him with favour.

Whatever might be his private opinion regarding Master George, D'Aubusson was determined on the present occasion to avail himself, as far as practicable, of his scientific attainments and engineering skill. From the German, however, he could glean but little, his words

were desponding, and his recommendations few and useless. One battery, indeed, of which he had strongly recommended the construction, proved an egregious failure; thereby much irritating the minds of the garrison against him. His hesitation and obvious reluctance to aid the defence in any way, strengthened materially the suspicions which were afloat, and rendered a new scrutiny into his objects and conduct advisable. Summoned before the council, he hesitated, prevaricated, and eventually contradicted himself in many important particulars; upon this he was submitted to torture, in accordance with the universal usage of those times; under the pressure of which a confession was extorted from him, that he had entered the town with the traitorous intent of rendering assistance to the pasha. Although a certain cloud of mystery does undoubtedly hang over the conduct of Master George, it being quite within the bounds of probability that the confession, which was extorted by the agonies of torture, was made merely to gain him a temporary respite from the pains of the rack, still there was that in his previous conduct and general history, which renders it almost a certainty that he was in reality the guilty wretch he confessed himself to be, and that he deserved the fate which was in store for him. In truth, he was the next day hung in the public square, in sight of an applauding crowd of the townspeople, and thus, by an act of righteous retribution, died in the midst of the city whose destruction he had plotted, the last of that trio of renegades, by whom Mahomet had been invited to the prosecution of his sinister designs against Rhodes. The pasha had all along entertained the strongest hopes of assistance from the crafty friend he had lodged within the town. Great

was his disappointment, therefore, when he learnt the fate to which that friend had been doomed. Of this fate D'Aubusson was determined that he should not remain long in ignorance, and so, adopting the method of communication which the pasha himself had used, he despatched a billet, attached to an arrow, into the Turkish camp, wherein he announced that the garrison had accepted the caution so kindly impressed upon them by their foes, and had taken the best possible precautions against Master George, by hanging him out of the way.

The suspension of the traitor was, however, no protection against the cannon which was thundering at the ramparts, or the assault which was threatening at the breach. To harass the enemy behind their trenches, D'Aubusson caused to be constructed a large wooden machine, by which huge stones were hurled upon their works. The rocks propelled by this engine were of such a ponderous character, that as they fell upon the covered ways which the Turks had constructed, they crushed them in, and as Dupuis has recorded, "some Turk or other always remained dead under its weight." The instrument whereby this pulverising process was carried on, was by its hilarious artillerists facetiously termed the tribute; the rocks which it hurled, and which so highly incommoded the besiegers, being the only tribute which the Ottoman emperor was to expect from the city of Rhodes.

Whilst the Turkish miners were being ground to powder by this new and most effective antagonist, the defenders had also commenced a little subterranean strategy on their own side; driving galleries beneath the breach, they made openings into the ditch, through which they gradually conveyed into the town much of the stone

with which it was being filled. This material was transported to the retrenchment, to the increased solidity of which it greatly contributed; and the labour was carried on so briskly under cover of the night, that the deposit which the Turks had made with such great labour commenced to sink into very dwarfish dimensions. For some days the foe were unable to comprehend the cause by which their labour was being neutralised, but the robbery became at length too marked to escape detection; and the pasha foresaw, that unless he gave a speedy assault, the road by which he purposed entering into the town would be carried away en masse. Prior to making the attempt, which experience had taught him must, even if successful, cost him the lives of many of his bravest troops, he endeavoured once more to obtain, by a peaceful capitulation, that which he was determined, if necessary, to seize by force of arms. A parley was demanded in his name, to which the Grand-Master readily consented; not with any idea of acceding to the terms which would probably be proposed, but merely to gain time for the strengthening of his retrenchments.

The following day was appointed for the interview, and at the hour named, the Turkish ambassador, Soliman Bey, made his appearance at the edge of the ditch opposite the breach; D'Aubusson had nominated Anthony Gaultier, castellan of Rhodes, as his representative on the occasion, and as the breadth of the ditch divided the negotiators, the conference was plainly audible to all who were in the vicinity. It was opened by the Turk, who after having paid a just tribute to the gallantry of the defence, urged upon the Knights the propriety of an immediate surrender: "You have," said he, "done all that lay within the power of mortal men to avert

the catastrophe which is impending over you; you have immortalised your names by a defence unparalleled in history, but do not carry that resistance too far; let not the madness of despair prompt you to protract your efforts after they have become manifestly hopeless. The breach within your wall is gaping wide, and invites our assaulting columns; forty thousand of the best troops of the empire are eagerly awaiting the moment which is to give you over into their power; do not, by your prolonged obstinacy, bring down upon your city the inevitable calamities incident to an assault. Yield yourselves to the clemency of our sovereign; become his allies, and your lives shall be spared, your property protected, and you yourselves permitted to retain the government of the island, in the strict bonds of friendship with us. If you refuse this offer, your lives will be forfeited, your wives and daughters brutally dishonoured, and your children sold into slavery; your city will be utterly destroyed, and the memory of it swept from the face of the earth. Such is the inevitable fate of those who persist in opposing the mighty Mahomet. Choose, therefore, whether you will be his friends or his victims."

To this speech, so well calculated to excite both the hopes and fears of the garrison, Gaultier responded in terms of proud disdain. He assured the ambassador that he was mistaken in supposing the town incapable of further resistance: it was true, the ramparts were breached, but retrenchments had been constructed within their ruins, before which the assailants should meet the same fate that had befallen those who had twice vainly attempted the capture of St. Nicholas; that as regarded the offers of capitulation, the treachery of the Turkish army in moments of triumph had been too

strongly marked and too frequently displayed to enable the garrison to place any further reliance on their pledge. That as to the alleged desire of Mahomet to be a friend and ally to the Order, he had employed a most unusual method for attaining that object: if he were in reality desirous of entering into an alliance with them, let him draw off his forces from the hostile attitude in which they stood upon the shores of Rhodes, and let them negotiate a treaty upon terms of equality. But if, on the other hand, they were determined to become possessed of the island, let them make their boasted assault without further parleying; they would find the garrison ready to receive them, trusting in the power of God to defend the right.

The resolute boldness of this reply taught Paleologus that he had nothing to hope for from negotiation. The audacity of the challenge, by which it was concluded, aroused feelings of the most lively indignation and animosity throughout the Turkish hosts. The Christians had dared an assault, and the pasha was determined to carry the place at all hazards. In order to incite his soldiery to the necessary pitch of valour, he promised them the entire booty of the city; and the certainty of capture became so assured, that sacks were made, wherein to deposit the anticipated pillage. A vast number of stakes were prepared and sharpened, for the charitable purpose of impaling the garrison: whilst each soldier carried at his waist a bundle of cords, wherewith to bind the captives of his bow and spear. Matters having been thus pleasantly arranged on the part of the assailants, the signal of assault was awaited by them with impatience. Before, however, venturing upon this step, Paleologus opened a tremendous fire from every

available piece of artillery which could be brought to bear upon the breach and adjacent ramparts. This bombardment was continued without intermission throughout the day and night preceding that on which the assault was to take place; and its effect was so destructive, that the garrison found it impossible to maintain themselves upon the rampart.

During the night of the 26th of July, the troops who were to commence the assault were silently moved into their positions; the roar of artillery continuing with ceaseless virulence. Owing to the impossibility of maintaining their ground upon the exposed rampart, the garrison were unaware of this important step, nor were any extraordinary measures taken to resist the impending storm. About an hour after sunrise on the morning of the 27th, the signal of assault was given by the firing of a mortar. The attack was made upon several points in the enceinte at once, but the main efforts were concentrated upon the breach in the Jews' quarter: the others being merely feints to distract the garrison from the principal point. The roar of the signal mortar was no sooner heard breaking the calm stillness of that summer's morn, than the fierce war-cry of the Infidel arose on every side; and with the fell spring of the tigress disturbed in her lair, they dashed at those shattered walls, which were the sole remaining bulwark of the harassed garrison.

The severity of the fire, which the pasha had kept up with unremitting energy for the preceding twenty-four hours, had had the precise effect which he had designed. Quailing beneath the withering and pitiless storm of iron which was hurled against them, the garrison had been driven to seek safety in more sheltered localities, and

when the assailants rushed through the breach, now so open and exposed that a horse might have been ridden through it, they found no opponents ready to resist the aggression. In a few minutes, and ere the alarm had been given in the town, the standard of Mahomet was waving on the crest of the rampart; and the Turks were pouring in a countless throng through the defenceless gap.

Now was indeed a critical moment for the fortunes of the Order. Hitherto they had maintained themselves with a marvellous success: though many a hard fought struggle had chequered the events of the preceding two months, though there had been times when the obstinacy and determination of the attack had been such as to make the fate of the city quiver in the balance, still the dauntless front and the serried ranks of the indomitable defenders had successfully withstood the tempest. Now, however, in an ill-fated moment those serried ranks were no longer at their post in the hour of need: that rampart, which hitherto had been protected from the polluting tread of the Infidel, was now swarming with their hosts; and the dreaded banner beneath which they fought was waving triumphantly over the already half-conquered city. In this disastrous conjuncture a general panic appeared to seize the defenders. Men ran to and fro in their dismay, scarce knowing where to bend their steps, or how to resist the storm thus suddenly burst upon them. A few moments more of this perilous confusion and all must have been lost. Providentially, however, for the fair fame of his Order, D'Aubusson, ever watchful, and ever at hand, rushed to the scene of contest. His presence instantly reanimated his followers, and restored order and decision in those ranks which but a moment before had quailed with dis-

may. With the speed of lightning he dashed at the rampart: its summit could only be gained by means of ladders, and the first to ascend, sword in hand, was the Grand-Master.

At this moment might have been witnessed the unusual spectacle of the garrison converted into assailants, and endeavouring to recover by escalade that rampart which had so long been their own bulwark, but which was now torn from their grasp, and become a desperate standing point to the foe. Twice did D'Aubusson attempt the ascent, and twice was he hurled from the ladder, each time severely wounded. Undaunted either by the repulse, or by the blood which was streaming from his wounds, he once again returned to the attack. His Knights, he felt, must re-establish themselves upon that fatal spot, or all was lost: better to die pierced by the manly scars of war, than to survive the loss of all which the Hospitallers held most dear. This time he succeeded in establishing himself upon the contested wall, and being speedily joined by numerous comrades, the struggle was renewed upon terms of greater equality. The mere numbers of the Turks acted prejudicially to themselves; they were so crowded together upon the narrow rampart, that they found it impossible to act with vigour; swayed to and fro beneath the fierce attack of D'Aubusson and his followers, they were driven with resistless force backwards over the breach.

The pasha, however, was not prepared tamely to yield the advantage he had once obtained, and a body of veteran janissaries was despatched to support the yielding assailants, and once more regain possession of the breach. D'Aubusson in his gilded armour was easily recognisable in the throng, and Paleologus, who felt that

he was the life and soul of the defence, directed a chosen body of this new reinforcement to forego all meaner prey, and to devote themselves to a direct attack upon the hero, so conspicuous at the head of his gallant band. Dashing upon the Christians with a ferocity which had so often before been the precursor of victory, and clearing for themselves in their impetuous onset a passage through the mailed phalanx by which they were opposed, they succeeded in reaching the spot where D'Aubusson stood, dealing out death and destruction with the sweep of his mighty brand. Hemmed in though he was on every side by these new foes, he yielded not a step, but maintained the unequal combat with an energy and a pertinacity which marked the heroism of his blood. His desperate situation was speedily discovered by his brothers in arms, and a rush was instantly made to the rescue with such impetuous vehemence, that the terror-stricken Moslem was forced to yield, and their beloved chief snatched from the certain death with which he had been so imminently menaced; not, however, before he had been struck to the earth grievously pierced by three new wounds.

Ere he was borne from the field, he had the consolation of seeing the enemy driven, like a flock of sheep, over the blood-stained breach, and his own victorious garrison pursuing them with the edge of the sword. This had, in fact, been the turning point of the struggle. The panic having once established itself amongst the assailants, spread with a rapidity which their disorganised and overcrowded position rendered still more fatal. Flying from the avenging weapon of the Christian, they found their egress from the deadly breach blocked by the tumultuous masses which the pasha had directed to

that spot. In this perilous predicament friend was not distinguished from foe, and the most eager of the fugitives hewed for themselves a pathway to safety by the indiscriminate slaughter of their fellow-soldiers. Numbers, who were unable even by this means to escape from the scene of strife, were hurled from the rampart into the town, a drop of twenty feet, where they were instantly massacred by the infuriated inhabitants. Meanwhile, a deadly fire had been kept up upon the dense mass congregated without the breach from every available point in the adjacent ramparts; and, as every shot told upon so extended a body, the slaughter became terrific. The struggle had now degenerated into a massacre. Pursued by their excited and victorious enemy, they were mown down like sheep, without the slightest attempt at resistance; nor was safety to be found even within the limits of their own camp, whence they were driven in headlong confusion, the great banner of the pasha, which was planted in front of his pavilion, falling into the hands of the garrison.

The demoralisation of the besieging army was now complete. After a succession of repulses, in each of which the slaughter of his troops had been fearful, Paleologus had concentrated all his power for one last crowning effort. His plans had succeeded even beyond his most sanguine expectation; the garrison had been taken by surprise at the critical moment; the rampart had been attained and occupied without a struggle; and the banner of the Prophet had waved in triumph on its summit: yet even with all these advantages, the golden opportunity had been lost; his shattered battalions had recoiled from the fiery phalanx to which they were exposed; and a mere handful of Christians had sufficed to

overcome the very flower of his army. In spite of the countless hosts with which his assault had been supported, the effort had proved a complete failure; the ditch had been choked with their mangled corpses, and the panic-stricken survivors had ignominiously abandoned the field. It was felt on both sides that such a victory as this must be decisive, and that the siege of Rhodes was virtually at an end.

It is curious to observe the different reasons assigned by the historians of both sides, for the unlooked for result of this extraordinary combat. The Turkish writer, Khodgia Afendy, who has given a very detailed and vivid account of the siege, coloured, however, by a natural partiality for his own nation, asserts that the sole cause of their failure was the avarice of Paleologus Pasha. He states, that after having excited the cupidity of his troops by the promise of an abandonment of the entire town to their indiscriminate pillage, he at the last moment, after they had established themselves on the Jews' rampart, recalled that promise, and publicly proclaimed that all the wealth of the city was to be reserved for the use of the sultan. From this moment, says Khodgia, the energy of the assailants declined visibly; feeling themselves cheated of their promised prey, and having their anticipated wealth torn from their grasp, at the very moment when its acquisition had appeared the most secure, they were no longer in a frame of mind to withstand firmly the impetuous onset made by D'Aubusson and his Knights. To this cause he attributes their panic and the consequent failure of the enterprise. The Christian historians, on their side, are equally at a loss to account for their success by any of the ordinary accidents of warfare; they therefore, as was common in

those times, and in their religion, sought for the agency of a miraculous interposition to account for the happy issue of the struggle. They record, that at the most critical moment, when the Grand-Master was surrounded and well nigh overcome by his assailants, there appeared in the heavens a refulgent cross of gold, by the side of which stood a beautiful woman clothed in garments of dazzling white, a lance in her hand, and a buckler on her arm, accompanied by a man dressed in goat-skins, and followed by a band of heavenly warriors, armed with flaming swords. Such a vision as this may well have terrified the barbarous hosts by whom it was witnessed, and, as in matters religious a ready credence was easily gained from the pious but ignorant multitudes of those times, it soon became established as an acknowledged fact, that the safety of Rhodes was due to the personal and visible interposition of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the patron saint of the Order, St. John the Baptist, supported for the occasion by a chosen band of the celestial host.

To modern readers, neither of these causes will be deemed satisfactory. The tale of the Turkish Khodgia, in itself improbable, does not tally with the actual fluctuations of the day, whilst that of the Christians merely excites a smile at the credulity of our forefathers. To D'Aubusson, and to him alone, must be attributed the success, not only of that day, but also of the whole defence from the hour when the atabal of the Infidel first sounded on the shores of Rhodes. His was the master spirit that had guided every effort; his was the eagle eye that had ever comprehended at a glance the exigencies of the situation in the most critical moments; his was the fertile brain from whence were developed

those numerous schemes and devices by which the assaults of the foe were rendered futile, and their insidious treacheries overthrown. He had throughout been the life and soul of the garrison. At one moment directing the erection of a new defence; at another wielding his sword in the thickest of the fight, like the meanest soldier in his garrison; now providing for the security of the feeble and defenceless inhabitants whose safety was committed to his charge; and anon terrifying and overawing the wavering and disaffected by the stern reproof or angry glance: to each and every one of that gallant band he was the father and support, and well was it for them that it was not until he had struck the death-blow to the army which was besieging them, that he himself succumbed beneath the weapon of the Infidel.

Rhodes was now saved; the troops of the pasha were embarking in tumultuous haste, and with crestfallen spirit, on board their galleys; the liberated townspeople were celebrating with enthusiastic joy the triumph of the defence; and Peter d'Aubusson, meanwhile, the author of all this rejoicing, the rescuer of his city, and the hero of his age, lay in his magisterial palace, unconscious of his own glory and his well-earned triumph, prostrated by five different wounds, one of which had by his physicians been pronounced mortal.

CHAP. XII.

RESTORATION OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF RHODES AND RECOVERY OF THE GRAND-MASTER. — PREPARATIONS BY MAHOMET FOR A NEW SIEGE. — HIS DEATH AND THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION TO HIS EMPIRE. — DEFEAT OF ZIZIM AND HIS FLIGHT TO RHODES. — DEPARTURE FOR FRANCE. — HIS RESIDENCE THERE. — HIS REMOVAL TO ROME AND DEATH. — LAST DAYS OF PETER D'AUBUSSON. — HIS DEATH AND INTERMENT. — HISTORY OF THE HAND OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

THE embarkation of the pasha and his discomfited army was witnessed by the harassed and worn out garrison of Rhodes with feelings of the most lively satisfaction. The inhabitants, after having been cooped up within the limits of the town during the space of two months, were naturally overjoyed at finding themselves again at liberty, and free to seek once more those homes from which they had been driven by the approach of the enemy. This satisfaction was somewhat damped by the aspect which the country surrounding the city presented to their eager view. The devastation of the Ottoman army, which, prior to abandoning its enterprise, had ruthlessly completed the destruction of all which had previously been spared, had created a scene of desolation in the once happy homes of the Rhodian peasantry most distressing for them to contemplate. The danger, however, from which they had just escaped, had been so imminent, that their joy at the happy termination of

the struggle soon overpowered all feelings of grief at the loss of their homes.

Vast numbers of dead had been left strewn upon the plain by the retreating Moslems; and the first step necessary for the health of the island was to remove these ghastly relics of the late warfare. The corpses were therefore gathered together in huge piles and burnt: the labour of burying them, owing to their numbers, being too heavy for the inhabitants to undertake. Dupuis records that on this occasion the women of Rhodes indulged in a little pardonable jocosity; and that, in witnessing the process of broiling to which the unfortunate Mussulman corpses were being subjected, they observed that the Turks had become so fat from the figs and other garden produce which they had ravaged during their stay. The general joy was much increased as soon as it became known that the Grand-Master, whose wounds had originally been pronounced mortal, was likely to recover; and when, after the lapse of a few weeks, he had so far advanced towards convalescence as to be present in person at the laying of the first stone of a church to celebrate his victory, their satisfaction was complete. This church was built at that spot in the Jews' rampart where the last assault had been made and repulsed, and was dedicated to St. Mary of Victory.

The news of the successful defence of Rhodes spread throughout Europe like wildfire. With the exception of Ferdinand, king of Naples, who despatched two galleys freighted with succours for the beleaguered city, which galleys arrived almost immediately after the repulse of the Turks, no helping hand had been outstretched to rescue the island. Now, however, when

D'Aubusson had by the prowess of his own arm, and that of his gallant and unaided fraternity, hurled the discomfited Ottoman with disgrace from his shores, a shout of exultation rang throughout Europe. When the imminence of the danger was past, people began to appreciate its extent; had the Ottoman emperor succeeded in planting his standard in triumph on the ramparts of Rhodes, the road to Italy would have been left completely open to his advance; and his threat that the green banner of the Prophet should wave over the capitol at Rome, might, in all probability have been carried into effect. The energetic and successful resistance of D'Aubusson in his island stronghold had thwarted that prospect; and Rome, rescued from her peril, was proportionably loud in her expressions of gratitude towards her deliverer, to whom she gave the high-sounding title of "Buckler of Christianity."

His first care, upon attaining to convalescence, was to commence the restoration of the fortifications, which a constant battering for a period of eighty-nine days had rendered completely ruinous. He also distributed rewards of all kinds to the Knights who had so bravely supported him in the struggle; whilst, in one instance, where the prior of Ireland, James Hetting by name, had not only refused to join the ranks of his fraternity at Rhodes, in the hour of peril, but had even neglected to forward the amount of responsions for which his priory was liable, that dignitary was deprived of his office; and Marmaduke Lumley, an English Knight who had been desperately wounded at the siege, but had afterwards recovered, was nominated in his place. To the inhabitants generally, in consideration of the great losses they had sustained from the ravages of the Infidel,

he gave free access to the public granaries, and likewise exempted them from all taxation for several years.

Until this period, the people of Rhodes had been considered by the Order as an inferior race, who held towards them a position very similar to that of a serf towards his lord. Now, however, that they had shown themselves not only faithful to their governors, but also brave and devoted, during the most trying moments of the siege, a general feeling sprang up that they should be admitted to terms of somewhat greater equality. The first Rhodian nominated to a post of any importance in the government of the island was William Caoursin, who, though not a professed Knight, was appointed Vice-Chancellor, and ambassador of the Order at the papal court. This dignitary has left to the world two documents, which, although filled with the most pompous and pedantic Latinity, forms nevertheless an important and valuable addition to the history of his time. One is an account of the siege of Rhodes, collected from official sources; although, as he himself says, "during the siege the public acts were not written, but after the victory was gained its history was compiled by William Caoursin, Vice-Chancellor of the Order, which account has been divulged by the press all over the world, previous to which nothing had been recorded." The other document is a history of the proceedings of the Order during the years immediately subsequent, including the romantic episode of the unfortunate prince Zizim, of whom there will be occasion to speak shortly.

The Grand-Master himself also wrote an account of the siege, which he forwarded for the information of the emperor of Germany, and which in its perspicuity, conciseness, and modesty, will bear a favourable com-

parison with almost any despatch of later days.* It is much to be regretted that no record has been kept of the strength of the garrison during the siege, or of the number and names of those who were killed. The archives of the Order only give the names of those who held official situations in the fraternity; a very small number as compared to the general total of those present. The list framed from these data consists of ninety-two French commanders, comprising Knights of all three languages; thirty-five Spanish and Portuguese; thirty-five Italians; eight Germans, and five English; together with eighteen chaplains and servants at arms of the various languages. This list is necessarily most incomplete and meagre; only professing to include the names of such as were dignitaries of the Order, and even so but imperfectly; subsequent researches have extended the English list to fourteen, and even that is presumed to fall very far short of the reality.†

* Vide Appendix No. 13.

† The fourteen English heroes whose names have been rescued from oblivion are as follows:—

Fr. John Vaquelin, commander of Carbouch, killed.

Fr. Marmaduke Lumley, dangerously wounded; subsequently prior of Ireland, vice James Hetting, displaced.

Fr. Thomas Bem, bailiff of the Eagle, killed.

Fr. Henry Haler, commander of Badsfort, killed.

Fr. Thomas Ploniton, killed.

F \dam Tedbond, killed.

Fr. Henry Batasbi, killed.

Fr. Henry Anulai, or D'Avalos, killed.

Fr. John Kendall, turcopolier.

Fr. Thomas Docray, afterwards grand-prior of England.

Fr. Leonard de Tybertis.

Fr. Walter Viselberg.

Fr. John Rucht.

Fr. John Boswell or Besoel.

The losses of the Turks have been very variously stated; the most probable estimate being about nine thousand killed and thirty thousand wounded. The great bulk of this fearful list of casualties must have occurred during their last repulse, when, in their flight from the fatal breach towards their camp, they suffered themselves to be mown down by thousands in their panic, without offering the slightest resistance. Paleologus Pasha, after his humiliating discomfiture, could expect but a very unwelcome reception from his disappointed master. Indeed, in the first transports of his rage, Mahomet ordered him, together with several others of the principal leaders of the army, to be bowstrung; but this stern decree was afterwards mitigated into banishment to Gallipoli, where he remained in disgrace until the death of the emperor.

Mahomet consoled himself for the unfortunate issue of the enterprise, under the idea that his own actual presence was necessary for the success of his arms, and he commenced immediate preparations for the assembly of a second and considerably augmented force, with which he proposed to renew his attack on the island in person. The news of this intention on his part, and of the mighty preparations which he had set on foot, filled the minds of the fraternity at Rhodes with well founded alarm. The ramparts, behind which they had made so stubborn a resistance, were in a state of ruin; their treasury was exhausted by the fearful expenditure rendered necessary in order to enable them to maintain that resistance; and their ranks were thinned to a lamentable extent by the casualties incident to so prolonged a struggle. They felt, therefore, that in the position in which they then were, a new siege, if pressed

upon them before they had had time to restore themselves to somewhat of their pristine strength, must end fatally to their cause.

At this critical juncture, as though to add to the calamities of their situation, the island was visited by a succession of the most terrific earthquakes, accompanied by a violent inundation of the sea. The result of this convulsion of nature was the overthrow of many of the principal buildings in the town, and of large portions of the ramparts, which had been already shaken and rendered insecure from the battering they had sustained during the siege. A considerable portion of the tower of St. Nicholas gave way at the same time; so that the city appeared more hopelessly indefensible than ever. Many of the inhabitants, calling to mind the popular tradition, that the island had originally sprung from the sea, during one of those volcanic convulsions for which the Levant has always been noted, commenced to dread that the earthquakes then prevalent were the forerunners of its equally sudden disappearance. Such a complication of disasters might surely have dismayed the stoutest heart; and it required the utmost fortitude, which even the heroic D'Aubusson could summon to his aid, to bear him through the dreadful crisis.

Desperate as was his situation, and hopeless the prospect of resisting the gigantic force which Mahomet, with rage in his heart, embittered by his previous disappointment, was at that very moment assembling for his destruction, he nevertheless continued to press forward such repairs and restorations as his limited means, and the brief interval left at his disposal, would permit. Had Mahomet lived to carry his project into execution, and had his mighty array once more stood before the

ramparts of that town, where so many of his nation had already found a grave, he would have been met as boldly and resisted as firmly as his lieutenant had been in the previous year. That such resistance could have been successful was, under the circumstances, hopeless; but Mahomet would have entered a city of ruins only over the lifeless corpse of the last of its defenders. Providentially however for the Order, in that hour of trial this sad fate was averted from it. In his march across Asia Minor, at the head of his forces, Mahomet was taken suddenly ill of a colic, and died in the village of Nicomedia, on the 3rd of May 1481. Great as had been his destiny, and numerous his conquests, the haughty chieftain scorned to enumerate their catalogue upon his tomb; but looking rather to the grand conceptions which had been teeming within his ambitious brain than to the acquisitions he had actually made, he directed the following simple epitaph to be placed over his grave: "My intention was to have captured Rhodes and to have subjugated Italy."

The death of Mahomet, scourge as he had always proved himself to his neighbours of every denomination, was hailed with joy throughout Europe; and nowhere more so, or with greater reason, than in the Island of Rhodes. A sense of relief pervaded every bosom; and now that their implacable and potent enemy was no more, they felt that the extremity of their danger was indeed past, and from that moment continued the labour of restoration with an energy much stimulated by the feelings of hope which this event had once again excited. Public thanksgivings were offered up in the Conventual Church for the death of the most redoubtable foe against whom the Order of

St. John had ever been called to combat; and it was then recorded, with feelings of very natural exultation, that, spite of all his power and all his efforts, this conqueror of so many provinces had never, during the whole course of his reign, been enabled to wrest a single island, or even a single castle, from the domination of the Hospital.

Mahomet's sudden decease brought with it that result so common to newly organised empires, a disputed succession. He had originally been the father of three sons, Mustapha, Bajazet, and Djem, Zaim, or Zizim, for by all three of these names has his youngest son been called. His eldest son, Mustapha, had been strangled by his order during his lifetime, for having violated the wife of his favourite minister, Achmet Pasha; thus leaving his two younger sons, Bajazet and Zizim, to dispute his empire between them. Bajazet was the elder of the two, born prior to his father's elevation to the imperial dignity. He was a man of quiet and sedate habits, mild in character, and gentle in disposition. For him the excitement of the camp and the tumult of war had no charms. Although possessed of sufficient ambition to make him desirous of ascending that throne which he considered his birthright, his was not the mind to have contemplated any extension of his empire, such as that which had been his father's day-dream. Zizim, on the contrary, young, ardent, and ambitious, bred in a camp, and delighting in war, sought to usurp his father's sceptre more that he might make it the instrument wherewith to achieve future conquests than for the quiet enjoyment of its actual dignities. Although a zealous Mahometan, he was by no means bigoted in his faith, and having during his youth been thrown in contact with the Order of St. John, whilst arranging a

truce on behalf of his father, he had conceived a warm admiration for its members, and more especially for its Grand-Master, D'Aubusson. Having been born subsequent to his father's assumption of imperial dignity, he considered himself his legitimate heir, as being porphyrogenitus, or born in the purple; and was consequently prepared to dispute the succession with his brother. The career of this unfortunate prince is so interwoven with the later years of D'Aubusson's government, that it will be necessary to enter into some detail concerning him; the more so, since his miserable fate has cast a slur most undeservedly upon the rule otherwise so brilliant of that Grand-Master.

The rivalry which arose between the brothers for the vacant throne caused a division amongst the magnates of the empire at Constantinople, where the relative claims of the two princes were warmly contested. Neither of the candidates were at that time in the city; but the faction in favour of Bajazet succeeded in overruling the pretensions of Zizim's partisans, and they crowned one of the sons of the former, a child of thirteen years of age, named Coracut, as a locum-tenens for his absent father. Bajazet, who immediately upon hearing of the death of Mahomet had hurried to the scene of action, speedily arrived at Constantinople, where he assumed in person the imperial dignity, and his claim was peaceably recognised by the inhabitants of the city.

The news of this event reached Zizim whilst he was hurrying from the seat of his government in Asia Minor towards Constantinople. Hastily collecting such troops as were favourable to his cause, he pushed forward towards the town of Broussa, trusting by force of arms to

overthrow the government of his brother. Unfortunately for him, the chief supporter of his brother's claims was the renowned chieftain, Achmet Pasha, a man whose successful career and brilliant warlike achievements had rendered him the idol of his army. It was this chief who had, during the reign of Mahomet, captured the city of Otranto, in which he had placed a garrison sufficiently strong to enable them to maintain the place against all opponents. The Neapolitans, however, terrified at this advanced post of Islamism, so near to Rome, were engaged in its siege when the news arrived of the death of Mahomet. At this moment, Achmet was in the act of advancing in support of the town, with an army of 25,000 men; but the garrison, dismayed at the death of their sultan, and ignorant of the approaching succour, surrendered to the Duke of Calabria without further resistance. Achmet was consequently compelled to retrace his steps with the army he had raised, and to return to Constantinople. He arrived at that city at the moment when the cabals of the rival factions were at their height; and the weight of his influence, backed as it was by 25,000 men, when thrown into the scale on the side of Bajazet, at once determined the result in his favour.

The new sultan no sooner heard that his brother had raised the standard of revolt in the vicinity of Broussa, than he despatched Achmet with a powerful army to oppose him. Their first conflict terminated in favour of Zizim, and at its close he entered the town, and caused himself to be proclaimed as the Ottoman sultan. Upon this Bajazet, arousing himself to meet the exigencies of the case, advanced in person at the head of his army against his brother; and his forces proving vastly

superior both in point of numbers and discipline, he succeeded in completing the overthrow of Zizim's army, the young prince himself being compelled to seek safety in flight. Accompanied by a very slender escort, he extricated himself from the field of battle, and made his escape into Egypt, where he was received with every demonstration of respect and hospitality. Encouraged by these friendly sentiments, he used every exertion to induce the Sultan Kaitbai to embrace his cause. In this, however, he was unsuccessful; the sultan being unwilling to assist him in any other capacity than as a mediator with his brother.

Whilst fruitless negociations were being carried on on this subject, Zizim received an offer from Kasim Beg, chief of Caramania, who had been despoiled of a large portion of his territories during the reign of Mahomet, to make common cause with him, and to use his best endeavours to place him on the Ottoman throne, provided that Zizim would, on his side, pledge himself to restore the captured provinces. Eager to embrace the opportunity thus presented to him, Zizim instantly joined Kasim Beg, and once more strove to make head against his brother. Achmet, however, advanced a second time against the prince, whose raw levies melted away at the approach of the Ottoman army. Zizim himself took refuge among the mountain passes of the district, and, feeling his cause hopeless in his own country, despatched an embassy to Rhodes, begging permission to place himself under the protection of the Order of St. John, and demanding a safe conduct from the Grand-Master. The propriety of acceding to this request was warmly debated in council at Rhodes: eventually, however, the permission was granted, and a safe conduct was despatched to

the unfortunate prince, by the hands of the prior of Castile, Don Alvares de Zuniga. This ambassador encountered Zizim at Corycus, on the borders of Cilicia, and after having, in the name of his Order, tendered the required guarantee, he returned with the prince to Rhodes.*

Every preparation had there been made to receive the illustrious fugitive with due respect and honour. A bridge, eighteen feet in length, covered with rich tapestry, was thrown out into the harbour to enable him to land on horseback from his vessel. Upon the mole he found a body of Knights ready to act as his escort in his progress through the town; the streets through which he passed were decorated with banners; flowers and evergreens being strewed in complimentary profusion in his path. Ladies in their gayest attire appeared in the balconies and windows overlooking his route; whose beauty drew from the gallant Eastern the compliment, that "it was with great justice that the Rhodians were considered the loveliest women in Asia." At St. Stephen's Square he was met by the Grand-Master, who received him with those marks of respect due to the son and brother of a powerful emperor.

It was, indeed, a great triumph for the Order of St. John, that they should within so short a time after their utter destruction had been decreed by the powerful Ottoman sultan, be thus receiving the son of that very

* The popular story, recounted by all the historians of the Order of St. John, of the letter which Zizim wrote to his brother, and which, attached to an arrow, he shot into the midst of the sipahis who had been despatched in his pursuit by Bajazet, and in which letter he reproached his brother in terms so touching as to draw tears from that prince, is quite apocryphal; nor is mention made of such a letter by any of the oriental writers of the period.

potentate, as a helpless wanderer, and a pensioner upon their bounty. However strong the natural feelings of pride and exultation, which must have been stirred in every bosom on that eventful day; the knights of Rhodes were far too chivalric to allow a trace of such sentiments to appear in their behaviour towards the young prince. Zizim found himself treated by these gallant and noble spirits with the same deferential hospitality as they would have displayed, had he been a powerful monarch on his throne, instead of the destitute fugitive which in reality he was. Every effort was made to render his stay agreeable to him. Tourneys, hunting parties, spectacles, and feasts followed in rapid succession: nothing was omitted which could serve to distract his mind from the gloomy thoughts incident on his position.

It was in vain, however, that they strove to divert his mind from the danger with which he felt he was surrounded, even in the hospitable city of Rhodes. From the Knights themselves he felt he had nothing to fear; indeed, on the first day of his arrival in the island, when the custom, usual in European courts, was practised of tasting the dishes prior to setting them before him, he, as an Eastern, being unacquainted with the usage, appeared much astonished and even scandalised at the suspicion thus implied; and to mark his fearlessness of treachery, he insisted upon eating of such dishes only as had not been tasted. Unfortunately, however, he felt, that in spite of all the precautions which the chivalrous hospitality of D'Aubusson had prompted him to take, he was, so long as he remained at Rhodes, in the midst of a population, many of whom would not scruple at any act of treachery against his person. That Bajazet would be only too ready to make

use of any such tool as might present itself for the purpose was, as he was well aware, too much in accordance with the ordinary practice of politics in the East to be for one moment doubtful; and that, playing as he did for so magnificent and important a stake, he would be prompted to the offer of a munificent reward to any one who would remove his enemy from his path, was also equally sure. He felt, therefore, that amongst the Greeks who were present in great numbers within the city, some plot would, ere long, be concocted, by which his liberty, and in all probability his life, would be placed in peril. Filled with the dread of such a result, Zizim suggested to the Grand-Master that he considered it advisable to quit his hospitable shores, and he requested permission to retire to France, stating at the same time the reasons which had led him to prefer the request.

D'Aubusson could not but see the justice of Zizim's fears; in fact, he had himself been tormented with a constant dread that some calamity would befal the prince whilst under his protection; still the proposed change of residence was a matter of so great moment, that he did not feel justified in giving his permission without a reference to the General Council. Here a very warm debate ensued on the question. Those who had regarded the presence of Zizim amongst them merely in the light of a political weapon which was to be turned to the best advantage against the Turks, strongly urged his retention in the island. So long, they argued, as they retained within their power the person of one who would prove so constant a source of dread and uneasiness to Bajazet, they might feel sure that he would never dare to undertake any operation to

their prejudice; and that, in their hands, the young prince would prove a most formidable engine, to be used as occasion might favour, against the Ottoman empire. Those, however, who were more disinterested, and who felt that the interests of their Order could never be permanently benefited by a breach of faith, were equally urgent that he should be permitted to follow his own inclinations. The danger which he hourly ran from the secret attempts of the assassin, whilst residing in Rhodes, was so imminent, and at the same time so impossible to guard against, that it was of the highest importance that he should be removed as speedily as possible beyond the reach of so baneful a contingency. The arguments adduced by this latter party were warmly supported by D'Aubusson, and ultimately prevailed in the council, sanction being given to Zizim to retire at once to France; and a suitable escort being nominated, under the command of two Knights of high dignity, to act as a guard to himself and retinue in this new home of his adoption.

At this juncture, ambassadors from Constantinople, despatched by Achmet Pasha on behalf of Bajazet, arrived at Rhodes with pacific overtures, and with a request that plenipotentiaries from the Order might be sent to Constantinople to arrange the terms of a durable peace. There can be no doubt that the presence of Zizim at Rhodes had much disquieted his brother, who felt that, unless he could secure a treaty of peace with the fraternity, he would be in constant dread of the rival claim which, supported by the force of their arms, Zizim might be tempted at any moment to renew. This embassy, so unusual to Mussulman pride, proved to Zizim that his brother would leave no means untried

to secure himself against aggression; he became, therefore, doubly anxious to quit a spot in which he was surrounded by so many dangers.

On the 1st of September 1482, he embarked with his retinue and escort on board one of the largest galleys in the fleet of the Order, and set sail for France. Prior to his departure, he left in the hands of the Grand-Master three most important documents, the contents of which are an ample confutation to the base calumny which D'Aubusson's detractors have so industriously spread, that Zizim was forwarded to France as a prisoner in furtherance of the political views of the Grand-Master and his fraternity. The first was a carte blanche to the Order to treat in Zizim's behalf with his brother Bajazet, and to secure for him such appanage as they could extort from the Ottoman treasury. During the period of Zizim's residence in Rhodes, the expenses of his entertainment had fallen entirely upon the Order; nor, unless he could succeed in wringing an allowance suited to his dignity from his brother, would he have any means of support during his residence in France, other than a complete dependence on the charity of the Hospitallers. He therefore empowered D'Aubusson to treat on his behalf with Bajazet on this subject. The second document was a declaration on his part, that his departure from Rhodes and retirement to France were steps taken by his own express desire. The third was a treaty of alliance into which he entered with the Order, and by which he bound himself to abide, in case he should ever succeed in dislodging his brother and mounting the Ottoman throne.*

* Vide Appendix No. 14.

The scene between Zizim and D'Aubusson, at the moment of the departure of the former from the island, was touching in the extreme. Forgetting for the instant the proud reserve with which, following the dictates of his Asiatic nature, he had always hitherto veiled his feelings, he, in this hour of separation from the friends who had rescued him from a cruel death, and who had treated him with such considerate and magnificent hospitality, felt it impossible to restrain further the natural promptings of his heart, and falling at D'Aubusson's feet in a paroxysm of grief, he bathed them in his tears. The proud warrior of the cross, who had so often exchanged the lightning flash of defiance with his infidel foe, was not proof against this ebullition of tenderness and sorrow on the part of one who, although the son of his bitterest enemy, had always regarded him and his fraternity with sentiments of affection and esteem.

Whether his keen and politic eye could trace in the dim and misty future some foreshadowing of that miserable fate to which this fugitive prince was doomed, or whether his emotion arose merely from a feeling of sympathy with the distresses of his young guest, certain it is, that, as an eye-witness has recorded, D'Aubusson, the calm, fearless, intrepid D'Aubusson, wept upon the neck of Zizim tears of fraternal affection. Was this the parting between a prisoner and his jailor? Was this a scene likely to have been enacted had Zizim been leaving Rhodes upon a compulsory journey to France, and had D'Aubusson been the perjured wretch who was driving him to that step, and who was to make for himself a political capital out of the measure? The whole scene has been depicted with such minuteness and detail by

Caoursin, as to leave no rational doubt in the mind of the unprejudiced reader of the terms upon which the Ottoman prince and the Grand-Master of Rhodes bade their last adieu.

The departure of Zizim in no way affected the treaty of peace which was being arranged between Bajazet and the Knights of St. John. In virtue of the document which Zizim had left in his hands, D'Aubusson secured for his protégé a revenue of 35,000 gold ducats*, in addition to which Bajazet covenanted to pay the Order an annual sum of 10,000 ducats, in compensation for the extraordinary expenses to which they had been put during the war with his father. Upon these terms, so highly favourable to the Knights of Rhodes, peace was concluded; and the powerful Ottoman empire beheld itself, in some measure, a tributary to the comparatively insignificant state, whose island bulwarks were bristling on its frontier. It has been alleged as a reproach against D'Aubusson, that he received this large annual payment as a bribe for the safe custody of Zizim; but this statement is at variance with the facts. The entire amount was annually remitted to Zizim, and by him expended, partly in the maintenance of his household, and partly in support of the ambassadors, whom he was continually despatching to the various courts of Christendom. Indeed, that the amount allowed by Bajazet was not sufficient for his maintenance is clear from the fact, that in the chapter-general held at Rhodes on the 10th of September 1489, after a minute examination of the accounts, it was decreed that D'Aubusson should be repaid out of the public treasury the sum of 50,749 golden crowns, which

* About fifteen thousand a-year, English money.

amount he was demonstrated to have advanced to Zizim, out of his private resources, over and above the annual income allowed him by his brother.

The young prince's first intention, upon landing in France, was to proceed at once to the court of the French king, and endeavour to enlist the active sympathies of that monarch in his behalf. The ambassadors, however, whom he despatched in advance, were received with the utmost coldness by Charles VIII., who, being on the eve of an expedition against Naples, felt very indisposed to embroil himself at that moment with the Ottoman sultan; he therefore declined a personal interview with Zizim, and contented himself with some vague offers of assistance, in case that prince should choose to abandon his faith. Zizim returned disheartened to the commandery of Bourgneuf, situated on the confines of Poitou and La Marche, which was the official residence of the grand-prior of Auvergne. Here, surrounded by his own personal retinue, and carefully guarded by the Knights, who had been appointed to act as his escort, he spent his days in such rural amusements as the locality afforded.

He was, however, a personage of too great importance to the political interests of Europe to be permitted to remain, even in this state of seclusion, undisturbed. All the princes of Christendom were seeking to become possessed of the person of one whose name would prove such a powerful auxiliary in an expedition against the Turks; and ere long plots were set on foot, in various quarters, to withdraw him from the protection of the Knights of St. John. At the same time, designs of a yet baser nature, prompted by the treachery of the uneasy Bajazet, were skilfully concocted, to deprive the

young prince of his life. Vigilant, indeed, was the guard which the Knights of Rhodes were compelled to maintain for the protection of their charge from the attempts of both friend and foe; and this vigilance has been distorted into a support of the accusation that the Turkish prince was, during all this time, a close prisoner in their hands. That Zizim was carefully guarded is an incontrovertible fact; but that he was so guarded contrary to his own desire is at variance with all trustworthy contemporary evidence; since, in a letter which he wrote to the Grand-Master from Rome, on the 27th of October 1494, after he had ceased to be any longer under the control of the Order, and when he could have had no object in disguising his sentiments towards them, he thus expresses himself with reference to the guard which the Order had provided for him during his residence in France:—"Most kindly and faithfully have I been served by the said Knights, without being able to testify my gratitude in the slightest degree, by remunerating them in the manner which I should most ardently have desired. With the warmest and most affectionate cordiality, I beg of your most reverend lordship kindly to look upon them all, as persons peculiarly commended to you by your love for me. I will think every favour and benefit which you confer upon them, as though conferred, through your condescension, on myself personally." During Zizim's residence at Rhodes the Grand-Master wrote a letter to the Pope, in which he defines very clearly the conditions under which the Order had consented to grant their protection to the prince. The safe conduct guaranteed for by him was "Tutus aditus exitusque," a safe entry into Rhodes and departure therefrom. And this guarantee had been faithfully observed.

He then proceeds to state, with a magnanimity worthy of his character, "We have brilliant expectations, and are determined to do all that lies in our power: if we succeed, well and good; but if not, we must consult the interests of our island, taking care, however, to preserve our public faith, since this must be kept inviolably, even towards our deadliest enemy, whatever may be his unbelief." This was the line of conduct pursued by D'Aubusson throughout the trying period of Zizim's presence in Europe. He had been promised a safe entry and an equally safe exit from the island of Rhodes; and this pledge had been fully redeemed. He left Rhodes voluntarily, and at his own earnest request; and from that moment the risk incurred by the measure fell upon his own head. The Knights, however, scorning to keep within the bare letter of their word, continued their protection to the hapless prince for many years, without which protection, it is not venturing too much to assert, he would speedily have fallen beneath either the open or the insidious attacks of his enemies. That this duty was performed in a manner honourable to themselves and beneficial to the prince, is clearly proved by the letter already quoted, written on his abandonment of the Order's protection, and the transfer of his person to the papal court.

This event took place in the year 1488. The Pope had, for some considerable time, been very urgent that Zizim should be transferred into his own hands, inasmuch as he was then organising an expedition against the Turkish sultan, in which he was desirous of the support which the presence of the prince would afford him; and although D'Aubusson knew that it would have been safer for Zizim to have remained a guest with the

fraternity, still he felt it was impossible for him to resist the urgent and oft-repeated injunctions of his ecclesiastical superior. The transfer was effected with great splendour in the month of March 1488, the king of France being a consenting party. It has been adduced, as a proof of dishonourable dealing on the part of the Order, that the possession of the person of Zizim was purchased by the Pope from them at the expense of numerous concessions which they extorted at the critical moment. These concessions were undoubtedly made, and it is more than probable that they were the result of Innocent's gratitude to the fraternity, for their compliance with his wishes, tardy and reluctant though that compliance had been. Still there is nothing to show that they were made a condition of the transfer, rather than its result; and a glance at the benefits conferred will show that they were such as the Order had a right to claim as an act of justice rather than a favour; being merely the abandonment on the part of the pontiff of claims which had been unjustly usurped by his predecessors. By this deed he pledged himself never to interfere in the nomination to commanderies, even when vacated within his own dominions; a privilege which former pontiffs had exercised with the most pernicious frequency, and in direct detriment to the rights of seniority. He also, at the same time, merged the two effete Orders of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus into that of St. John; though how far this union could be considered a boon to the Hospitallers, it is difficult to perceive, inasmuch as, both in regard to renown and wealth, the Knights of St. John were immeasurably superior to those of the two Orders who were now combined under their banner.

It has also been very generally stated, that a cardinal's hat was conferred on D'Aubusson, as a personal mark of favour from the Pope, on this occasion. The real truth is, that D'Aubusson was invested with the dignity of cardinal in 1485, three years before the transfer of Zizim to the court of Rome. That dignity was in itself an honour of a very questionable kind. Independent of the obvious fact that the title was one more becoming an ecclesiastic than a soldier, it is very evident that the rank which D'Aubusson enjoyed, as Grand-Master of the most Holy Order of St. John of Rhodes, was in itself higher than that which would be conferred by a cardinalship; and it would have been well for the dignity of D'Aubusson's memory, could his historian have recorded that he had declined the paltry bauble. The real reason for his investment with this anomalous rank was, that the Pope had need of his acknowledged talents as a politician and a diplomatist in his traffic with the nations of the East. The title of cardinal was coupled with that of papal legate in the East; a post which insured to the service of Innocent one of the most talented and efficient agents then in existence for the delicate task of intercourse with the Turkish court.

Before the Pope had had time to mature any of those projects for the reconquest of the East, which were teeming within his ambitious brain, he died, and his place was filled by the infamous Borgia, who assumed the triple crown under the title of Alexander VI. During his sway, the position of the unfortunate Zizim became very much changed from what it had been during the life-time of Innocent. The Knights, who had hitherto been permitted to reside with him at the

papal court, were severally dismissed, and he himself confined as a close prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The last vestige of power over the fate of the miserable prince was now wrested from the Order; nor can they be in any way held responsible for the foul crime by which his end was compassed. Alexander, feeling himself secure in the possession of his prize, communicated instantly with Bajazet; and did not blush to traffic with that prince for the blood of his brother. An offer was made by the latter, either to continue to him the annual payment hitherto granted to Zizim, upon condition of his detaining that prince in close confinement, or, in order to end at once the dangers which his life perpetually threatened to Bajazet's crown, he covenanted to pay the sum of 300,000 crowns to the Pope, in the event of his making away with his prisoner.

Alexander's notoriety as a poisoner had already flown over all Europe; and Bajazet did not hesitate to propose in plain terms to the head of the Christian Church, the cold-blooded murder of a defenceless refugee. The Pope would willingly have retained Zizim in life, preferring the annual payment to the sum offered for his murder, but the option did not long remain to him. The measures which Alexander had adopted with regard to Zizim had caused the most lively indignation, not only to the Grand-Master of Rhodes, who unfortunately felt himself powerless in the matter, but also to the young and ambitious king of France, into whose calculations it had never entered that the Pope should retain the Turkish prince a close prisoner, merely for his own individual profit. Advancing at the head of a powerful force, which he had assembled for the purpose of overrunning the kingdom of Naples, to the sovereignty

of which he laid claim, he appeared at the gates of Rome, before Alexander had been enabled to make any preparations to resist him.

The scandalous iniquities of this pontiff's career had resounded throughout Europe. The annals of his life had been stained with almost every crime, and every vice by which human nature is disgraced. Everywhere his deposition was most urgently prayed for, and the very cardinals of his court were unanimous in their desire to see him stripped of his pontifical dignity. At this moment, his doom appeared sealed; but Alexander, though a monster of vice, was by no means inexpert as a politician; and out of the nettle danger, with which he was surrounded, he contrived to pluck the flower safety. By means of bribes, lavishly and unscrupulously administered, he bought over most of the advisers of the young king; and a treaty was concluded, which secured him in his pontificate even more firmly than before. By one of the terms of this treaty, he pledged himself to surrender Zizim into the hands of Charles. Vainly did he resist the insertion of this clause, but Charles was inexorable: the presence of the Turkish prince was by him considered necessary for the prosecution of his enterprise, and provided he carried that point, he cared but little for the other iniquities of which Alexander had been guilty.

The annual stipend so punctually paid by Bajazet was clearly lost to him for ever; now, therefore, was the time to earn the 300,000 crowns offered for the murder of Zizim. The age in which Borgia lived was renowned for the perfection to which the art of poisoning had been brought, and that pontiff had earned for himself the unenviable reputation of the most skilful

and frequent practiser of that art throughout Europe. In the present case, his talents were brought to bear with his usual cunning upon the person of his unfortunate prisoner. Zizim, at the moment when he was handed over to the protection of Charles, bore within his frame the fatal venom which was slowly but surely working his destruction. So skilfully had the potion been administered, that it was not until the king had arrived with his protégé at Terracina, that the crisis developed itself. Every finger at once pointed to the true murderer; nor has any serious attempt been ever made to refute the charge.

A sad fate indeed was that, for which the unfortunate Zizim had been reserved. After a sojourn of thirteen years in strange countries, far away from his own native land, he was, at the very moment when his gloomy prospects appeared to brighten, smitten by the fell and secret hand of the treacherous poisoner, from whose grasp he had but just torn himself. In subsequent years we find his son Amurath, who had been left as an infant in Egypt, residing in Rhodes under the protection of the fraternity, and receiving from their treasury a pension of 36,000 florins a year. This young prince had abandoned the faith of his father, and become baptised into Christianity, for which reason he was held in great esteem by the Order.

The miserable fate of Zizim caused the most poignant anguish to D'Aubusson, to whom the young prince had endeared himself through many years of kindly feeling and affectionate correspondence. The disgrace which this foul murder had cast upon the Christian Church affected him deeply, and his utter inability to avenge the dastardly act added weight to his grief. Age too had been creep-

ing upon him, and rendered him less able to bear up against his sorrow than would have been the case had he been a younger man. It is from this time that we may date the commencement of that decline, which slowly and gradually brought the noble old man to his grave. Throughout the remaining years of his life, his position was one which any of the monarchs of Europe might have envied. Universally admitted to be the greatest warrior, and the first statesman of his age, he bore a part in the politics of Europe far more important than his official position could have warranted. At the time when Alexander, anxious to remove the stigma cast upon him by the murder of Zizim, had organised a league against the Turks, composed of all the leading powers of Christendom, D'Aubusson was unanimously selected as the generalissimo of the combined forces. The league, it is true, effected nothing: the numerous conflicting interests of its members, the inertness of some, and the obstinacy of others, all conspired to render barren an enterprise which might have been of the most vital importance to Europe, and which, if duly persevered in, would have saved the island of Rhodes from the sad fate which was impending over it. Still the nomination of D'Aubusson as its head marks the general estimation in which he was held; nor can its futile termination be in any way attributed to him, since prior to accepting the command he foretold, with the keen sagacity for which he was famed, its useless end.

In the year 1499, we find an ambassador sent from Henry VII., king of England, with an extremely flattering letter to the Grand-Master, accompanied by a present of horses, of a breed which were prized for their pure blood and extreme docility: they were stated

in the letter to have been reared in the island of Ireland, and to have been called Eburi. He also sent several pieces of artillery, which he intended for the defence of Rhodes, and which he requested might be given over to the charge of the English Knights, and placed upon the ramparts appropriated to their guardianship. During this period no less than five general chapters had been convoked, in the course of which many enactments highly beneficial to the discipline of the Order were passed. Reforms of the most searching kind were introduced, and Rhodes was weeded of many of those unworthy characters, who, from amongst the Greek population with which it swarmed, had brought discredit on the island.

The only drawback to the peaceful end which D'Aubusson felt was rapidly approaching, came from the conduct of the Pope, who, heedless of the pledge of his predecessor, gave to his own immediate family and friends all the leading dignities of the Order as they fell vacant. Remonstrances were utterly disregarded, and D'Aubusson felt himself unable to act in any more stringent manner. In the midst of the acrimonious correspondence engendered by the illegal actions of the pontiff, he sank into his grave, and breathed his last on the 30th of June 1503.

The loss of so great a man from amidst their ranks was keenly felt by the members of his Order, nor was it less regretted by the inhabitants of Rhodes generally, to whom he had endeared himself by the undeviating justice of his rule, and the liberal policy he had invariably maintained towards them. He had reached the age of eighty years, during the latter twenty-seven of which he had held the baton of Grand-Master, and

this lengthened career had been marked by the magnanimity, piety, and heroic deeds with which it was adorned. Beloved by his own Order, revered by all the princes of Christendom, respected and dreaded by the enemies whom he had worsted in the field, or baffled in the council chamber; munificent in his public acts, as the numerous buildings, foundations, and other charities which he established amply testify; affable and gracious in his demeanour towards those with whom he was thrown in contact; he was a man who had no enemies, save those whose misdeeds had brought down upon them the chastisement decreed by his justice, or those in whose jaundiced eyes the mere existence of such pre-eminent virtue was in itself an offence.

The day of his funeral was one of general mourning throughout Rhodes: his body lay in state in the council hall, beneath a canopy covered with cloth of gold, dressed in the robes of his office, with gloves of silk upon his hands, and shoes of golden cloth upon his feet. On his breast lay a crucifix of gold; and at his right hand, arranged upon a table, were the emblems of his cardinalship; on the left were his armour, his lance, and the sword which he had used at the defence of the Jews' rampart, still covered with the Infidel blood in which it had been bathed on that memorable day. Around the corpse stood seven Knights, dressed in the deepest mourning, one of whom bore his cardinal's hat; another his legate's cross; a third the standard of the league of which he had been the generalissimo; and the other four, banners, on which were emblazoned the arms of his family, combined with those of the Order. When the hour of interment arrived, the whole town followed their late prince to the tomb. First in the procession came

the religious corporations of Rhodes; next, the Greek patriarch, and all his clergy; then the Latin clergy of the Order, followed by two hundred of the principal citizens of Rhodes, dressed in black, and bearing lighted torches; after these the Knights, bearing his banners, which they now trailed upon the ground; next the bier, with the corpse, borne upon the shoulders of the grand-crosses, none others being allowed that privilege. Immediately after the corpse came the Knighthood of the Order, whose extended files completed the melancholy procession. As the revered body was lowered into its last resting place, the baton of his office, and the golden spurs of his Knighthood, were broken over his tomb by the officers appointed for that purpose; and, after one last long look had been taken at all that now remained of one who had gained the love of so many hearts, and achieved so much for the welfare of his brethren, the grave was slowly and sadly closed over his venerable remains, and the touching ceremonial was brought to a close. He was gone out of their sight, and another would shortly occupy that place he had so worthily filled; but his memory will remain through successive ages, still green and unfading, and wherever the annals of the Order of St. John are recorded there must ever be found, high amidst the chosen list of those who, even in that fraternity of chivalry and renown, had raised themselves above their honoured fellows, the name of Peter D'Aubusson.

It was during his rule that the relic, so highly prized by the Order till the latest day of its existence, was first brought to Rhodes. After D'Aubusson had succeeded in arranging the treaty, in virtue of which Zizim was to receive an annual pension from his brother,

Bajazet, anxious to testify his gratitude for the good offices of the Grand-Master, presented him with the right hand of St. John the Baptist, which had fallen into the possession of his family at the capture of Constantinople. This relic, which was inclosed in a magnificent casket of Cyprus wood, lined with crimson velvet, and adorned with numerous precious stones, was addressed to D'Aubusson in the following manner: "Bajazet, king of Asia, and Emperor of Emperors, to the very wise and illustrious Grand-Master of Rhodes, Peter d'Aubusson, most generous prince, and father of a very glorious empire."

Few, if any of the relics, which during the middle ages were scattered throughout Europe, until almost every church was possessed of one, if not more, of the soi-disant bones of the primitive martyrs, can have their authenticity traced with such minuteness of detail as the one thus forwarded to Rhodes. Its history runs as follows:—The body of St. John the Baptist had been buried in the town of Sebasta, after his execution by king Herod; St. Luke the Evangelist, after his conversion to Christianity, is stated to have been very desirous of removing the sainted corpse; joining, therefore, with some of the other disciples of St. John who were still living, they opened the grave under cover of night; but, dreading lest they should be unable to remove the entire body without being discovered, they severed the right hand, which, as having been the actual agent employed in baptising our Lord, they considered the most sanctified portion of the body. St. Luke carried the hand to Antioch, where he preserved it religiously during his sojourn in that city. When, however, he went into Bythinia to preach the gospel, he left the

precious relic in the charge of the church which he had established. It remained at Antioch until the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who, as a devout Catholic, was extremely desirous of obtaining for the imperial city of Constantinople so celebrated a relic as the hand of St. John. Any open attempt on his part would have been in vain, for the people of Antioch prized their treasure highly, and guarded it most carefully; but Constantine, in his religious zeal, had no scruples as to the means he employed for the attainment of his purpose. He bribed a deacon of the church of Antioch to steal the hand, and to bring it to Constantinople; where, as soon as it had arrived, it was placed in the church of St. John. It remained there until the capture of the city by Mahomet, when, owing to the value of its casket, it was placed in the imperial treasury, and it was from this repository withdrawn by Bajazet, for presentation to Peter d'Aubusson.

The correctness of the above statement must be taken upon the credit of the numerous writers who have guaranteed its authenticity, foremost amongst whom stands Caoursin, the vice-chancellor of the Order, who, upon the arrival of the sacred gift, was appointed member of a commission to investigate its claims to authenticity; and who, after having satisfied himself of the accuracy of its history, wrote a treatise upon the subject, in which every particular connected with its various transmigrations is fully recorded for the information and satisfaction of the pious.

CHAP. XIII.

ELECTION OF ALMERIC AMBOISE. — FUTILE DESCENT OF CANALIS. — CAPTURE OF SEVEN TURKISH GALLEYS AND OF THE QUEEN OF THE SEAS. — DEFEAT OF THE TURKISH FLEET IN THE GULF OF AJACCIO. — ELECTION AND DEATH OF GUY DE BLANCHEFORT. — ACCESSION OF CARRETTO. — USURPATION OF SELIM. — CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY THE OTTOMAN SULTAN. — DEATH OF SELIM AND ACCESSION OF SOLYMAN. — SIEGE OF BELGRADE. — ELECTION OF L'ISLE ADAM. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH SOLYMAN. — PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE. — DETAIL OF THE TURKISH FORCES. — ARRIVAL OF THE HOSTILE FLEET AT RHODES.

THE death of D'Aubusson was speedily followed by that of Pope Alexander, to the inexpressible relief, not only of the Knights of St. John, but also of the whole of Christianity; the scandalous iniquities which had disgraced his pontificate having elicited the abhorrence of every right-minded person. He met his end through a just retribution of Providence, having partaken of poison which he had destined for another; and which, spite of every remedy, carried him to the grave, without a regret and amidst the execration of his suffering subjects. Nowhere was this event hailed with greater joy than at Rhodes. The Pope had, in his grasping rapacity, seized upon all the dignities and emoluments in the possession of the fraternity, as they successively became vacant; and with unblushing effrontery openly sold them to the highest bidder. Remonstrances on the part of the

Grand-Master had proved utterly unavailing, and nothing appeared left to the Order but either tamely to submit to the wanton infraction of all their rights and privileges, or else to cast off their allegiance to the pontiff, who, vile though his personal character might be, was nevertheless recognised as the head of their Church, and their own immediate ecclesiastical superior. Happily the necessity for this alternative was now obviated; and the Knights were enabled to continue their struggles against the Infidels to whom they were opposed, under the new chief they had elected, without further hindrance from the court of Rome.

This Grand-Master was Almeric Amboise, grand-prior of France, and brother to the prime minister of that kingdom. The nine years during which his sway extended, were marked by no events of importance, beyond a series of naval combats, in which the Order were invariably victorious. Bajazet had, so soon as the death of his brother Zizim had freed him from all engagements with the Order of St. John, entered into a treaty with the sultan of Egypt, for the attack of Rhodes, and the annihilation of the naval supremacy of the fraternity in the Levant. In pursuance of this treaty, a celebrated Turkish corsair named Canalis was despatched by the Ottoman emperor with a powerful fleet, and with injunctions to commit every possible ravage amidst the islands of the religion. This expedition proved a complete failure: driven successively from Rhodes, and several of the other principal islands on which he had attempted a descent, he directed his efforts to Leros; an insignificant post, which had been but feebly fortified and slenderly garrisoned. The gallantry and presence of mind of a youthful Piedmontese Knight, named Simeonis, saved even this

petty station from the aggression of the Turk. Dressing up all the inhabitants of the place, women as well as men, in the robes of Knights of the Order, he caused them to line the ramparts of the fort in every direction. The corsair, perceiving, as he imagined, a large body of Knights prepared for his reception, whereas he had expected to find only a few feeble veterans, lost heart, and abandoning the attack, returned homeward without a single trophy to mark the prowess of his arms.

The Knights speedily followed up this successful resistance on their part, by several other advantages which they gained over the Infidel. Upon one occasion, a fleet of seven vessels, well armed and fully equipped, having been despatched to the attack of the island of Lango, fell into their power by a stratagem. Two of these vessels had advanced beyond the others, for the purpose of reconnoitring, and had approached so near to the island of Lango as to be descried from the battlements. The commandant instantly despatched the only two galleys at that moment in the harbour, to intercept the advancing foe. These latter crept out to sea unperceived, and contrived to cut off the retreat of the Turks so effectually, that they were compelled to run their vessels on shore, and abandoning them to the Knights, seek refuge themselves within the woods of the island. These latter promptly floated their new acquisitions, and having embarked a sufficient crew from amongst the ranks of the garrison, they advanced to the encounter of the remainder of the Turkish fleet. The Infidels perceiving their own vessels returning, had no suspicion of the change which had occurred in their occupation, and advanced towards them in perfect security and confidence. What was their dismay when the first broadside from

their insidious opponents revealed the calamity which had occurred to their arms. Ere they had well recovered their surprise, the two Rhodian galleys were descried bearing down rapidly upon the scene of strife. With this reinforcement the victory was rapidly accomplished: the seven ships were carried in triumph into port, and their crews sold into slavery, including those who had originally escaped into the island.

This advantage was followed by another, in the capture of a carrack, which trafficked annually between the ports of Egypt and Africa. This vessel, which was called the "Queen of the Seas," was of so enormous a size, that it is said six men could scarcely embrace her mainmast. She had no less than seven decks, and was armed with a hundred cannon, the crew consisting of a thousand picked sailors. Gastineau, the commander of Limoges, undertook to attempt the capture of this leviathan, freighted, as she was, with the valuable merchandise of the east. Having succeeded, under pretence of a parley, in running his galley close alongside of the carrack, he suddenly opened a murderous discharge upon her crowded decks, and then with dashing promptitude completed his victory. The proceeds of this prize were enormous, and the ransoms which the sultan of Egypt paid for the release of the seamen and merchants taken upon the occasion, swelled yet further the public treasury.

A still more important advantage, three years later, attested the naval superiority of the Knights of Rhodes. The sultan of Egypt had, with the consent of the Ottoman emperor, despatched into the gulf of Ajaccio a colony of ship-builders, commissioned to construct a fleet, to be employed against the galleys of Rhodes. The Grand-

Master, at considerable cost, fitted out an expedition for the attack of this colony, which was protected by a fleet of twenty-five vessels. The conduct of the enterprise was entrusted to the Portuguese Knight, Andrew d'Amaral, whose name subsequently attained a melancholy notoriety during the second siege of Rhodes. Associated in the command with him was another Knight, named Villiers de L'Isle Adam, who was destined to achieve an undying reputation during the same struggle. The attack upon the Egyptian colony and its protecting fleet was in the event completely successful, though the issue of the day was for a long time warmly contested. The fleet was utterly destroyed; most of the vessels being sunk and the remainder captured, whilst their crews, and the ship-builders, who were taken on the mainland, were brought as slaves into the harbour of Rhodes.

This was the last event of any importance which marked the career of the Grand-Master Amboise, and on the 8th of November 1512, he died, at the age of seventy-eight years; the greater portion of which had been spent in maintaining the honour and renown of that fraternity of which he was so worthy a member.

Guy de Blanchefort, nephew of Peter d'Aubusson, and grand-prior of Auvergne, became the forty-first Grand-Master, a post for which he was highly qualified, and to which his numerous important services had justly entitled him to be raised. It was to his care that Prince Zizim had been entrusted during his lengthened residence in France, and he had subsequently been nominated to the office of Lieutenant to the Grand-Master, in which position he had rendered much important assistance, both

to D'Aubusson and his successor, Amboise. The high reputation which his talents had gained for him caused a very general feeling to become prevalent, that his Grand-Mastership would be rendered celebrated in the annals of the Institution, from the tact and ability with which he would fulfil its onerous functions. He was not, however, fated to realise these flattering aspirations, having been cut short in his career at the very commencement of his sway. Being absent in France when informed of his election, he at once set sail for Rhodes, although at the time he was in a very feeble state of health, feeling that the threatening aspect of Eastern politics rendered his presence there absolutely necessary. As the voyage progressed, his illness became more severe, and when off the coast of Sicily he appeared so evidently in a dying state, that the Knights who accompanied him urged him to land there. The heroism of Blanchefort supported him in this trying hour; at all times ready to maintain the interests of his Order, even at the risk of his own life, he was now prepared to forego the comfort of spending his last moments upon shore; feeling that the doing so might prove prejudicial to the fraternity of which he was the chief. His keen foresight enabled him to perceive, that were he to die within such close proximity to the court of Rome, the Pope would be sure to avail himself of that event to secure the nomination of a creature of his own, without reference to the council at Rhodes. He persisted, therefore, in holding on his course, and as he felt his last hour approaching, he directed that the swiftest galley of the fleet which accompanied him should be held in readiness to push on for Rhodes, the instant that life had become extinct, in order that the earliest

intelligence of the event might be received in that island.

His decease occurred off Zante, and, faithful to the instructions he had issued, the sad intelligence was at once despatched to Rhodes, where it became known on the night of the 13th of October 1513. The Order immediately assembled for the election of a new superior, and we have it recorded that, upon this occasion, the numbers of Knights then present in Rhodes were as follows:—Of the French language there were 100, of that of Provence 90, Auvergne 84, Castile and Portugal 88, Aragon 66, Italy 60, England 38, and Germany 5. Fabricius Carretto, the grand-admiral of the Order, a Knight who had distinguished himself most highly during the first siege of Rhodes, by his defence of fort St. Nicholas, received the vacant baton, by the unanimous choice of the electors.

Most important changes had of late years been transpiring in the East, which threatened the island of Rhodes with a renewed attack from the Ottoman power. The emperor Bajazet had three sons, of whom the two elder partook greatly of his own inert and peaceable disposition. The youngest, however, whose name was Selim, inherited all the ambition and warlike aspirations of those ancestors who had raised the power of the Ottoman empire to its existing point of grandeur. Politic as he was warlike, Selim, the sole dream of whose life was to mount upon the throne to which, by his birth, he could have no claim, exerted all his powers to ingratiate himself with the janissaries of his father's army. In this attempt he succeeded so well, that, with their aid, he contrived to depose his aged parent; and having murdered him as well as his two elder brothers,

the youthful parricide mounted the throne without fear of any opposition on the part of his kindred.

The accession of this young and warlike prince caused the greatest dismay amongst the neighbouring nations, who with just reason dreaded that they would, ere long, become the victims of the same aggressive policy which had seated him on the throne of his father. In this fear the Knights of Rhodes warmly participated, and a treaty of alliance was cemented between the kings of Persia and Egypt and themselves. The storm burst upon Egypt, and, despite the efforts of the allies, the power of Selim, coupled with the treachery of two of the Mamelouk governors, to whom the Egyptian sultan had confided the defence of his frontier, enabled him, in the course of four years, to overrun the whole of that country, and to add it to his own dominions.

The two traitorous Mamelouk chiefs were invested, the one with the government of Egypt, and the other with that of Syria; and this conquest having been completed, Selim turned his attention towards Rhodes, for the reduction of which he commenced immediate and formidable preparations. Whilst thus occupied, however, he died suddenly of a cancer, and thus yielded another respite to the Order of St. John, of which they were not slow in availing themselves for the additional protection of their island. His only son, Solyman, ascended the throne of his father precisely at the same time that Charles V. was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; and he was destined, during the course of his lengthened reign, to render himself the most illustrious of that race of conquerors from whom he sprang.

It soon became the day-dream of the young and

ambitious prince to achieve that conquest which had proved too formidable for his ancestor forty years previously; but a revolt in the newly conquered province of Syria for some time retarded his operations. Gazelles, the Mamelouk traitor, who had been invested with the governance of that province by Selim, now that that redoubted chieftain was dead, conceived that the opportunity was favourable for a revolt against his youthful successor and the establishment of himself in independent sovereignty over the province of Syria. In aid of this attempt, he besought the alliance of Carretto, who, overjoyed at the prospect of a dissension which might divert the menacing attitude of the Ottoman emperor, assisted him both with men and military stores. The power of Solyman was, however, too great for Gazelles to withstand, and in the very first engagement which ensued, he was overthrown and slain upon the field of battle.

Peace being, by his death, re-established in the Ottoman dominions, Solyman turned his attention towards the aggrandisement of his empire on his European frontier. A large army was assembled at Constantinople, with every preparation for an expedition on a gigantic scale. Its destination was not, however, as the Knights had imagined, the attack of their island, which was yet for a brief space respited from the fate which impended over it. The city of Belgrade was the point where Solyman commenced his career of conquest, and whilst the siege of that city was progressing vigorously, Fabricius Carretto breathed his last in the month of January 1521.

A warm contest ensued for the election of his successor; the names of three candidates having been

brought forward by their respective partisans. One of these was Andrew d'Amaral, the chancellor of the Order; but his arrogance and haughty temperament had created him too many enemies to render his success in the slightest degree probable. The weight of the struggle lay, therefore, between the other two candidates, Thomas Docray, grand-prior of England, and Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, grand-prior of France. Docray was a man whose experience in diplomacy had rendered his name celebrated amongst the fraternity; and he was, moreover, in the possession of a magnificent private fortune, a fact which added greatly to the weight of his claims. As, however, the whole of the French interest was centered in L'Isle Adam, and as that interest was overpoweringly great in the ranks of the Order, the vote was decided against Docray, and L'Isle Adam was proclaimed by the Knights as their forty-second Grand-Master.

The unfortunate D'Amaral felt so keenly the slight which he considered his rejection had cast upon him, that he gave way to the bitterness of his temper, and is reported to have uttered a speech upon the occasion, which was subsequently magnified into an accusation against his honour, and materially assisted in bringing him to the scaffold. He is stated to have remarked, upon hearing of the election of L'Isle Adam, that he would be the last Grand-Master of Rhodes. This, though in all probability merely the ebullition of disappointed ambition, was subsequently tortured into an involuntary revelation of that treachery of which he was accused, and went far to bias the decision of his judges, prejudiced as they were already against him.

L'Isle Adam was residing in his priory at the time

when his election was notified to him; but, sensible of the importance of the crisis, and the imminence of the danger which threatened his Order, he set sail at once for Rhodes, in the carrack which had been despatched for his conveyance. A succession of disasters overtook the little squadron during the voyage. On one occasion, the carrack caught fire, and was only rescued after the most strenuous exertions on the part of its crew. Immediately afterwards they were assailed by a violent tempest, in the midst of which the ship was struck by a thunderbolt, which killed nine of her crew, and actually destroyed L'Isle Adam's sword by his side, without, however, causing the slightest injury to his person. Such a combination of untoward circumstances was amply sufficient to excite the superstition of his attendants, and they earnestly besought him to abandon the further prosecution of his voyage. L'Isle Adam, however, was not the man to allow these vague terrors to deter him from his purpose; and, in spite of every obstacle, he held steadily on his course. Whilst calling at Syracuse, he learnt that the pirate Curtoglu was hovering around Cape St. Angelo, in the hopes of capturing him in the midst of his slender escort. Passing, however, the point of peril under cover of night, he succeeded in evading the treacherous corsair, and reached Rhodes in safety.

In the summer of that year, the siege of Belgrade was brought to a conclusion, and Solyman's banner waved triumphantly over its ruined ramparts. This victory having been accomplished, the Ottoman emperor found himself at leisure to turn his attention once more towards that dream of his youthful ambition, the capture of Rhodes. The recollection that the army of his an-

cestor had been driven in confusion from its shores only appeared in his eyes to render the project more attractive. Independently of the desire which he naturally felt to blot out the stigma cast upon the Ottoman arms by the former failure, it was in his eyes a great enhancement of the glory, which the successful prosecution of the attack would reflect upon himself, to remember that so mighty a monarch as Mahomet had failed in a similar undertaking. In this ambitious project he was warmly seconded by many of his subordinates; although in the divan counsels were much divided upon the subject.

Many were there who remembered with dread the stupendous preparations made upon a former occasion by Mahomet; as also the tempting inducements and promising assurances then held out by the traitorous adventurers in his confidence; all of which resulted in a miserable failure, the tide of invasion rolling ignominiously back from those island bulwarks, which the high courage and chivalrous ardour of the Knights of St. John had rendered an impassable barrier. These sage advisers urged, and with considerable truth, that the garrison of Rhodes was composed of very different materials from those of the numerous fortresses which had succumbed to the Ottoman arms; that the city of Rhodes was at this time fortified with far greater strength and completeness than it had been in 1480; that the recollection of their former success would nerve its garrison, and the main body of its inhabitants, to resist to the death any aggression on their island; and lastly, that the powerful force which must inevitably be necessary for so stupendous an undertaking, could be far more brilliantly and usefully employed in other di-

rections. To these arguments the friends of the enterprise retorted, that the failure of Mahomet's attack was mainly owing to his personal absence from the siege; that the very fact of that failure rendered it highly advisable for them to seize the earliest opportunity of wiping away the reproach which had thereby been cast upon their military fame, and that so far from the fortifications of Rhodes being in a state of complete perfection, they had received trustworthy notification that a large portion of the wall of the bastion of Auvergne had been thrown down, with a view to its more solid reconstruction; and that if they seized the opportunity thus afforded by their enemies, they would find a breach already made for them, through which they might triumphantly enter the coveted city.

This piece of information had been forwarded to Constantinople by a spy who had been for some years maintained in Rhodes by the Ottoman government. He was by nation a Jew, and a physician by profession, and had been despatched thither by the emperor Selim, for the express purpose of obtaining intelligence as to the state of the city. His profession had secured him a ready entrance and a warm welcome at Rhodes; where the impending prospect of a siege was likely to render him a valuable auxiliary. He appears to have maintained his clandestine correspondence with the Porte for a considerable time unsuspected; and it was only at the very crisis of the siege that his treachery was discovered, and he himself rendered incapable of inflicting any further mischief.

Chief among those who thus urged Solyman to the enterprise were Mustapha Pasha, his brother-in-law, and the pirate Curtoglu; both of whom trusted to derive

considerable emolument and distinction in its prosecution. Their counsels, according as they did so well with the dictates of his own ambition, decided Solyman to carry out the attack. As a preliminary measure, and in order to test the determination of his antagonists, he wrote to the new Grand-Master a letter, couched in the following terms:—"Solyman the sultan, by the grace of God, king of kings, sovereign of sovereigns, most high emperor of Byzantium and Trebizond, very powerful king of Persia, of Arabia, of Syria, and of Egypt, supreme lord of Europe, and of Asia, prince of Mecca and Aleppo, lord of Jerusalem, and ruler of the universal sea, to Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master of the island of Rhodes, greeting: I congratulate you upon your new dignity, and upon your arrival within your territories. I trust that you will rule there prosperously, and with even more glory than your predecessors. I also mean to cultivate your favour; rejoice then with me, as a very dear friend, that following in the footsteps of my father, who conquered Persia, Jerusalem, Arabia, and Egypt, I have captured that most powerful of fortresses, Belgrade, during the late autumn; after which, having offered battle to the Giaours, which they had not the courage to accept, I took many other beautiful and well-fortified cities, and destroyed most of their inhabitants either by sword or fire, the remainder being reduced to slavery. Now after sending my numerous and victorious army into their winter quarters, I myself have returned in triumph to my court at Constantinople." L'Isle Adam was not slow in perceiving the menace which lay couched within the terms of this epistle; he therefore returned a response breathing a still more open spirit of hostility; it ran as follows:—

"Brother Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master of Rhodes, to Solyman, sultan of the Turks: I have right well comprehended the meaning of your letter, which has been presented to me by your ambassador. Your propositions for a peace between us are as pleasing to me as they will be obnoxious to Curtoglu. This pirate during my voyage from France tried to capture me unprepared; in which, when he failed, owing to my having passed into the Rhodian sea by night, he endeavoured to plunder certain merchantmen, that were being navigated by the Venetians; but scarcely had my fleet left their port, than he had to fly, and to abandon the plunder which he had seized from the Cretan merchants. Farewell."

To this bold epistle the sultan again replied, and endeavoured to inveigle him into sending some dignitary of the Order as an ambassador to Constantinople, from whom he should be enabled to extort valuable information concerning Rhodes. L'Isle Adam was too well acquainted with Turkish treachery to entrust any member of his Order into the power of the wily Solyman; and the event shortly proved the wisdom of his precaution, since a Rhodian native, who had been despatched by his fellow-townsmen, to open a negociation with the Turks on the Lycian shore, was treacherously made captive, and carried away to Constantinople; where, in the most foul disregard of the laws of nations, he was cruelly tortured by order of Solyman, and a confession was extorted of all that he knew concerning the fortifications of Rhodes.

It was now very clear to every reasonable mind, that no negociation could any longer stave off the impending blow; and L'Isle Adam prepared himself with prompt

energy to resist it manfully. Embassies were sent to all the principal courts of Europe to implore assistance in a struggle, the event of which might prove a matter of so great moment to Christendom; but the emperor Charles V. and the French king Francis were too warmly engaged in their own domestic broils to give any heed to the cry for assistance which arose from the shores of Rhodes. The commanderies had all furnished such contingents as it was in their power to contribute, and L'Isle Adam felt that in the approaching struggle he would have to trust for success far more to the spirit of his garrison than to their numbers. Only one of the numerous embassies which he had despatched in every direction was prosperous in its issue; and this was the mission to Candia, which he had entrusted to Anthony Bosio, a serving brother of considerable talent and sagacity, a relation of the historian of the Order. This able negociator succeeded in bringing from the Candian shore, not only an ample supply of stores, but also five hundred Cretan archers, in those days highly reputed for their skill with the cross-bow. He had likewise attracted into the service of the Order, the celebrated Venetian engineer, Gabriel Martinigo, whose reputation as a master of that science stood so high, that his presence in Rhodes was universally hailed as a most invaluable auxiliary in the hour of need.

Martinigo was so much struck with the devotion and zeal which he noticed on every side, that his highest ambition became a desire to be enrolled a member of that illustrious fraternity; and he besought the Grand-Master, that as he was determined to abandon all his worldly prospects, and in that moment of peril to link his fortunes with those of the city he had come to defend,

he would be graciously pleased to receive him as a member of his fraternity. As Martinigo was a man of good family and unmarried, there was no objection or obstacle to the accomplishment of his wishes; and the Knights greeted with joy this new and valuable acquisition to their ranks. He was at once elected a grand-cross; a large pension was assigned to him, and the whole charge of the fortifications vested in his hands. Various additions were at his suggestion made to the defences: the gates were protected by ravelins, and casemates were constructed in the flanks of the bastions: the counterscarps were mined in such directions as appeared likely to be made use of in an assault; whilst within the town barricades were erected in all the principal streets.

L'Isle Adam's next care was to cause a rigid inspection to be made of his little garrison: the members of each language were drawn up in front of their respective auberges, fully armed and accoutred; every language being reported upon by a Knight of another division. Each individual was called upon in turn to swear with his hand upon the cross-hilt of his sword, that the equipments which he wore upon the occasion were his own property, and had not been borrowed from any other person. In this manner L'Isle Adam satisfied himself of the complete preparation of his little garrison. The number of the English knights present at the siege has not been recorded; mention has only been made of the names of twenty*, but this must have fallen far short of

* The twenty English Knights whose names have been preserved, owing to their having occupied posts of greater prominence than their brethren, were as follows: —

Fr. John Bouch, or Buck, Turcopolier, killed.

Fr. Nicholas Hussey, commander of the English bastion.

the number actually present. Conspicuous among these stands John Bouch, or Buck, the Turcopolier, who was selected as one of four leaders of supporting bodies, which were destined to be retained without any special duty, so as to be in readiness to carry succour wherever their services might be most needed. The commander of the English bastion was Nicholas Hussey; whilst the leader of the troops apportioned for the defence of the English quarter was William Onascon. In like manner, were leaders selected in the other languages to command at their respective posts. L'Isle Adam undertook for his own share the defence of the

Fr. William Onascon, commander of the English quarter.
Fr. Thomas Sheffield, commander of the palace postern.
Fr. Nicholas Farfan, in the Grand-Master's suite.
Fr. Henry Mansel, ditto, killed.
Fr. William Weston.
Fr. John Ranson.
Fr. William Tuest (qy. West).
Fr. John Baron.
Fr. Thomas Remberton.
Fr. George Asfelz.
Fr. John Lotu.
Fr. Francis Buet.
Fr. Giles Rosel.
Fr. George Emer.
Fr. Michael Roux.
Fr. Nicholas Usel.
Fr. Otho de Montselli, or Monteilli.
Fr. Nicholas Roberts. This Knight wrote an account of the siege to the Earl of Surrey. Vide Appendix No. 15.

Although there is no distinct record of the deaths of any of the above-mentioned Knights during the siege, excepting the Turcopolier and Henry Mansel, it is stated that they all perished, with scarce an exception, and that the protection of the English bastion had eventually to be entrusted to Knights of other languages.

quarter of St. Mary of Victory, the point where the last and most desperate struggle had taken place in the previous siege.

A commission was named, including the three Knights, the chancellor D'Amaral, the Turcopolier John Bouch, and Gabriel de Pomeroys, whose duty it was to examine into and report upon the supplies of provisions and ammunition which were contained within the arsenals of the city. Their joint report asserted that the supply of both was ample, and that no farther store of either was necessary. Before, however, the siege was brought to a termination, the ammunition of the garrison became exhausted, and this report, by which the Grand-Master had been misled as to the state of his magazines, was brought forward against the unfortunate D'Amaral as an additional proof of his treason. The absurdity of this accusation may be perceived at a glance; the treason, if such it were, must have been shared in by his brother commissioners, against whose fair fame no suspicion of scandal had ever been breathed. Nothing, in fact, was more likely than that the commissioners should have underrated the expenditure of the garrison. The siege was protracted during a space of time far exceeding that occupied by the former one; whilst the amount consumed in the mining operations of Martinigo, eminently successful though those operations were, went far towards exhausting the supplies of the town, and could hardly have been foreseen by D'Amaral or his associates.

A careful examination into all the allegations brought against this unfortunate Knight will prove them to be equally unreal, and not a whit more substantiated by probabilities. Had he been in treasonable communication with Solyman, would that monarch have been

driven to so many expedients in order to procure accurate information as to the state of the town. From a man in the chancellor's official position nothing, of course, was concealed by L'Isle Adam, and he was most accurately informed of all that was taking place in connection with the defence. Were information such as this at his command, Solyman would have had but little occasion to trouble himself with spies of a meaner class; and the numerous measures which he took to secure the services of persons of this description form a very important argument in favour of the innocence of D'Amaral. This Knight, however, was, unfortunately for himself, of so haughty and turbulent a disposition, that he was perpetually swelling the number of his antagonists, and giving them some fresh pretext upon which to found additional accusations against him. Thus, at this critical moment, he headed a cabal which broke out amongst the Knights of Italy, who, under the plea that the Pope, Adrian VI., was arrogating the patronage of their commanderies, requested permission to depart for Rome, in order to plead their cause before his holiness in person.

This request was very naturally refused by L'Isle Adam, who, at the moment when he was expecting to see the whole power of the Ottoman army arrayed against him, could ill spare the services of a single Knight. D'Amaral, within whose bosom was still undoubtedly rankling a sense of jealousy, at the preference which had been shown for L'Isle Adam over himself, prompted them to seize for themselves that permission which the Grand-Master had refused to accord; and they secretly departed from Rhodes by night, and proceeded to Candia.

L'Isle Adam was much dismayed at this serious defec-

tion from his force, already too feeble for its duties; still, his was not the character to swerve from the path of duty through any motive of expediency. In the present dilemma his course was prompt and decisive; and, as is usually the case, when men guide themselves by the strict rules of justice and rectitude, it was, in the end, eminently successful. He at once summoned a general council, before which he arraigned the recusant Knights, and in their absence judgment was passed by default. They were unanimously sentenced to be deprived of their habit, and expelled the fraternity, as unworthy members, who had treacherously and pusillanimously abandoned their brethren during a crisis of extreme danger. The terms of this sentence soon brought the fugitives to a sense of their duty. They had abandoned the island, not from any symptoms of cowardice or disinclination to share the perils of their brothers in arms, but simply from a feeling of insubordination, aroused in a moment of pique and irritation, against L'Isle Adam. The view which had been taken of their conduct by the council touched their honour deeply; and all the chivalry of knightly character was once more awakened within their bosoms. Instantly hurrying back to Rhodes, they threw themselves at the feet of the Grand-Master, imploring a remission of their sentence, and that they might be permitted to wash away, in the blood of the common foe, all recollection of their present misconduct. To this petition L'Isle Adam, who was overjoyed at the prospect of recalling so many gallant spirits to his standard, warmly assented, and during the lengthened struggle which ensued, the conduct of the Knights of Italy was such, as to cause him no regret at the leniency he had shown them.

The total strength of the garrison, whose inspection L'Isle Adam had caused to be made, amounted only to 600 Knights, and 4500 men at arms. In addition to this force, which might be considered in the light of regular troops, many of the inhabitants of the town had enrolled themselves as volunteers during the hour of danger; and they were formed into several battalions, who rendered material assistance to the overtasked and exhausted garrison during the siege. The mariners also, who usually manned those galleys which had rendered the flag of St. John so redoubtable throughout the Levant, were landed, and formed into a naval brigade, for service in the batteries and at other points in the defences where they might be rendered useful. The peasantry, who were flocking into the town from the surrounding country, were made available as pioneers, and performed most of the manual labour which the paucity of the troops rendered them unable to execute for themselves.

A general description of the town and fortress of Rhodes has been given in the account of its first siege, but since that period, many important additions and improvements had been effected. All the buildings which had been left standing since the days of D'Aubusson, and which had afforded such admirable cover for the besieging army at that time, were now cleared away, and the country left completely open to the guns of the town, which enfiladed it in every direction. The main port was closed with a double chain, whilst the port of the galleys was blocked, by sinking at its mouth, boats laden with stones. A double enceinte completely encircled the town, to which, in some parts, was added a third line of rampart. These lines were flanked by

thirteen large towers, solidly constructed and well adapted for resisting the enemy's artillery. Five of the towers were enclosed in bastions, of which they might be considered the keep; so that these five points were capable of a separate and isolated resistance, even should the intermediate rampart become forced. They were called the bastions of Provence, Auvergne, England, Spain, and Italy. A net-work of advanced lines covered the main enceinte, the gates were all protected by ravelins, the ditches were sufficiently wide and deep to ensure them against all danger of escalade, and their counter-scarps were well revetted and palisaded.

The five bastions were placed under the direct control of as many Knights, who were expressly nominated for that purpose, and under whose orders were placed a select detachment of their own languages. The general enceinte was divided, as was their usual custom, into eight portions; each of which was confided to the protection of a separate language, and a Knight of that language selected as commander. The corps of reserve was divided into four portions, at the head of which were placed respectively the chancellor D'Amaral, who was to support the quarters of Auvergne and Germany; the English Turcopolier, John Bouch, for Spain and England; the grand-prior of France, Peter de Cluys, for France and Castile; and the grand-prior of Navarre, George de Morgut, for Provence and Italy. The Grand-Master himself, with his lieutenant Gabriel de Pommeroys, at the head of his body-guard, was reserved for general purposes, without any specially defined duties. The tower of St. Nicholas, which had in the former siege

borne the main brunt of the attack, was placed under the command of Guyot de Castellan, a Knight of Provence; and was garrisoned by twenty other Knights and three hundred men.

Such were the leading arrangements which the wisdom of L'Isle Adam had prompted him to make, and by means of which every one knew his post at the moment of alarm. His military dispositions, however, did not prevent him from displaying the zeal of his piety, and the earnest trust which he felt in the support of a higher power. Prayers were offered in all the churches by his order; and the intervention of the Almighty invoked to rescue them from the grasp of the Infidel. The town was divided into two sects; those who owned the allegiance of the Pope, and were members of the Latin church; and those who belonged to the Greek persuasion. At the head of each was an archbishop, in both cases nominated by the Grand-Master; the Latin dignitary being Leonard Balestin, and the Greek, Clement. Fortunately for the prospects of the town, these functionaries zealously co-operated with each other for the public weal, and maintained the most desirable harmony between their respective flocks, to whom they each addressed the most earnest exhortations to secure their general allegiance to their common chief. The address of the Greek archbishop has been recorded by Fontanus, and presents a most eloquent specimen of the declamation of the period. L'Isle Adam was certainly fortunate in possessing, at this crisis, two such able and energetic coadjutors; men whose position gave them so much power to sway the opinions and feelings of their countrymen.

Whilst these preparations were making for the defence, Solyman was, on his side, gathering together his

forces in readiness for the undertaking; and as a last measure, prior to commencing operations against the island, he despatched the following summons of surrender to L'Isle Adam: "The sultan Solyman to Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master of Rhodes, to his Knights, and to the people at large. Your monstrous injuries against my most afflicted people have aroused my pity and indignation. I command you, therefore, instantly to surrender the island and fortress of Rhodes, and I give you my gracious permission to depart in safety with the most precious of your effects; or if you desire to remain under my government, I shall not require of you any tribute, or do aught in diminution of your liberties, or against your religion. If you are wise, you will prefer friendship and peace to a cruel war. Since, if you are conquered, you will have to undergo all such miseries as are usually inflicted by those that are victorious, from which you will be protected neither by your own forces, nor by external aid, nor by the strength of your fortifications which I will overthrow to their foundations. If, therefore, you prefer my friendship to war, there shall be neither fraud nor stratagem used against you. I swear this by the God of heaven, the Creator of the earth, by the four Evangelists, by the four thousand Prophets, who have descended from heaven, chief amongst whom stands Mahomet, most worthy to be worshipped; by the shades of my grandfather and father, and by my own sacred, august, and imperial head."

This letter was read by L'Isle Adam in full council, where it was at once decreed that no other reply should be accorded than such as could be borne by the cannon of the town. Any further parleying would indeed have

been fruitless, for by the time when this letter was being read at Rhodes, viz., 14th June 1522, every preparation for the immediate commencement of the siege had been completed by Solyman. From this day the unfortunate inhabitants of the surrounding country commenced pouring into Rhodes, bringing with them the slender remains of their property, their instruments of husbandry, domestic animals, corn, wood, &c., in a long and melancholy procession. Sad was the spectacle which they presented as they thus abandoned their cherished homesteads; and found themselves left with only the pitiable alternative of ravaging their own lands in order to prevent the enemy from deriving any sustenance therefrom. Bitter were the curses and loud the denunciations which they called down from heaven upon those who had driven them to the necessity of thus destroying their homes, and earnest were their prayers to the throne of mercy that their city might be preserved from capture, and their wives and little ones rescued from the polluting touch of the Infidel.

Mustapha Pasha had been selected by Solyman as the leader of his gigantic force, and Curtoglu, as admiral of the fleet, had the management of all connected with their transport. The strength of this army numbered 200,000 men, of whom 140,000 were men at arms, and 60,000 were peasants from Wallachia and Bosnia, who were brought thither to execute such mining operations and other trench duties as their manual skill enabled them to perform with greater facility than the Turkish soldiers. These unfortunate wretches had been torn from their homes with the most brutal violence, and compelled, against their will, to take part in an enterprise for which they could have no possible sympathy; and the ruthless manner in which, during the siege,

they were worked like beasts of burden, and driven to labour under the most deadly fire, was such, that of that vast array scarce a man survived to witness the conclusion of the siege.

The naval armament, by which this enormous force was transported, together with all its materiel and provisions, numbered nearly 400 sail of different descriptions, of which upwards of 100 were galleys and vessels of considerable magnitude. An advanced detachment, consisting of 30 vessels, piloted the way to the scene of action, and pouring upon the smaller islands, which had been abandoned, carried sword and ravage in every direction. In the island of Lango, however, they met with a decided repulse. The governor, a French Knight named Prejan de Bidoux, at the head of his garrison, dashed at the disembarking marauders, and drove them back with confusion to their ships. Awed by this act of determination, they sheered off, and bore away in the direction of Rhodes.

Early on the morning of the 26th of June, a signal from St. Stephen's hill conveyed intelligence into the city that the Turkish fleet was in sight. It was the octave of the feast of St. John, during which period it had been an invariable custom at Rhodes for a procession to be formed through the principal streets of the town. L'Isle Adam, desirous as far as possible to reassure and calm the terror-stricken population, directed that this procession should pursue its usual course although the enemy's fleet was at that moment studding the horizon. The procession over, high mass was performed in St. John's church, and at its conclusion the Grand-Master approached the altar, and mounting its steps, he elevated the Host on high in the presence of the assembled multitude, and prayed to heaven, on be-

half of the people committed to his charge, that God would deign to give them fortitude and boldness to defend His holy religion, and honour his sacred name; and that the fire and sword, the slaughter and rapine, the carnage and slavery with which they were menaced by the blood-thirsty Infidel, might through His infinite mercy be averted from them. L'Isle Adam, recognised as he was as one of the first soldiers and most accomplished captains of the day, was equally eminent for the fervour of his piety and the earnestness of his religious zeal. When, therefore, on this eventful morning, he thus consecrated his cause to heaven, and appealed to the Most High in terms of eloquent and touching supplication, for protection against the foe by whom his city was menaced, his hearers felt that, under the leadership of such a man, their cause must be in good hands, and that if it were the will of heaven that they should prosper, none could better carry that decree into effect.

The religious ceremony being concluded, the doors of the church were closed, and the garrison directed to repair to their respective posts. The city gates were shut and the bridges raised, flags were hoisted upon the various bastions, and all stood awaiting the first scene of the bloody drama. The Grand-Master, arrayed in magnificent gilt armour, rode at the head of his guards, with three Knights by his side, each bearing a banner; one the grand standard of the Order, the second a banner which had been presented by the Pope to D'Aubusson after the successful issue of the former siege had become known, and the third a flag emblazoned with his own coat of arms. This latter was borne by a young English Knight named Henry Mansell, who was killed early in the siege, after which his duty as a standard bearer was performed by a French Knight.

Not a man, woman, or child, on that eventful day, remained within their houses; but every point of view from whence the motions of the hostile fleet could be observed, was crowded with anxious gazers. Many there were within that mingled crowd—men whose hair time had sprinkled with silver, and on whose brows he had ploughed his furrows — who, looking backward through a long vista of years, could call to mind a scene very similar to that on which their looks were now bent, when, forty-two years back, their seas had been once before covered with the proud fleet of that empire, between which and themselves an undying animosity was ever burning. Then they had triumphed gloriously, and the God of battles had fought on their side. He had espoused their cause against the Infidel swarms who raged in impotent fury beneath their battlements; He had aided them to hurl back the ruthless invader from their soil; and even now the bones of thousands who once had mustered in that proud array, lay whitened beneath the soil of Rhodes. The husbandman still, in the preparation of his land, ever and anon turned up some relic to remind him of that strife, which he justly esteemed his country's glory; and amidst those plains of verdure, with which the city was surrounded, many a patch of green, more brilliant than the rest, was pointed at as the spot where lay one of those numerous masses of slain who were placed there in huddled confusion after the retreat of their fellows.

With all these memorials of their former victory before their eyes, and with the knowledge that the Rhodes of the present time was far more complete in its defences, and far more capable of resistance than that which had maintained itself successfully forty years before; with the strains of martial music filling the air, and exhila-

rating their hearts; with the dazzling splendour of that summer's sun flashing upon many a knightly crest, and many a broidered pennon, it was natural that they should feel a sense of confidence amounting almost to exultation, and that they should look with a feeling well nigh of certainty for the moment when the foe, recoiling in dismay from their ramparts, should once again seek an ignominious safety in flight.

Some there were, however, who, spite of all these brilliant auguries of success, gazed upon that gorgeous pageant, which was then spread before their eyes, with feelings of dread and terror. They well knew that the power of Mahomet, even when at the zenith of his glory, was far inferior to that of the prince who now swayed the sceptre of the mighty Ottoman empire with undisputed sovereignty. His career had, up to the present moment, been one unbroken succession of triumphs; the power had not as yet appeared which could withstand the vigour of his attack; the army which was now pouring its numberless battalions upon the shores of their fair isle exceeded that which they had before so successfully resisted, not in mere numbers only, but also in every detail of its equipment, and was led by generals who had been trained to victory beneath the redoubted banner of their universally-dreaded sultan. With these adverse circumstances to contend against, it might well prove that the constancy and bravery, even of the Knights of St. John, might be unavailing, and that they yet might live to see the day when the detested banner of the Arabian impostor should wave over those ramparts whereon they were now standing, and which had been for so many years maintained in proud and honourable security.

CHAP. XIV.

THE SECOND SIEGE OF RHODES. — COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE. — PLOT FORMED BY A FEMALE SLAVE WITHIN THE CITY. — DISPOSITION OF THE TURKISH ARMY. — DETAIL OF THEIR ARTILLERY. — CONSTRUCTION OF CAVALIERS. — MINING OPERATIONS. — EXPLOSION OF A MINE UNDER THE BASTION OF ENGLAND, AND SUBSEQUENT ASSAULT. — REPEATED ATTACKS OF THE OTTOMANS, AND THEIR INVARIABLE REPULSE. — ACCUSATIONS BROUGHT AGAINST THE CHANCELLOR D'AMARAL. — HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION. — DEVOTION AND COURAGE OF THE RHODIAN WOMEN. — NEGOCIATIONS FOR SURRENDER. — TERMS OFFERED BY SOLYMAN. — ACCEPTANCE OF THOSE TERMS, AND CLOSE OF THE SIEGE.

THE main difficulty against which L'Isle Adam had to contend, in conducting the defence of Rhodes, was the paucity of his garrison. Numerous tempting opportunities constantly presented themselves for opposing the besiegers by direct attack; but as each of these attempts must have involved a certain amount of loss, and as no minor advantage could in any way compensate for the most trifling diminution of his forces, the Grand-Master found himself compelled to curb the ardour and impatience of his followers, and to permit advances to be made, which, had his numerical strength been greater, he would have checked in the outset.

The nineteenth century has been by no means singular in its production of marvellous propositions, such as those of Captain Warner, Lord Dundonald, and others of that class. It is recorded by Fontanus, in his history

of this siege, that a Florentine, named Girolamo Bartolini, brought forward a project whereby the whole Turkish navy was to be destroyed at one blow. That this suggestion was not adopted by L'Isle Adam, proves that it did not bear within it the probabilities of success; although his refusal has, by contemporary writers, who were ever anxious to blacken the reputation of D'Amaral, been attributed to the malignant influence of that Knight. L'Isle Adam was not the man to permit his judgment to be swayed by the opinions of others; and, had he received a favourable impression of the project of Bartolini, it would not have been in the power of D'Amaral to prevent its execution.

The disembarkation of the besieging army, an occupation which extended over many days, proceeded quietly, and without interruption from the garrison, who were busily engaged, during this period, in making their last preparations to meet the coming storm. All preliminary measures having been completed, the Turks broke ground, under cover of a cannonade, and commenced the construction of their trenches, with the aid of the Wallachian peasants, who had been brought for that purpose. The Rhodians, on their side, harassed the advances of the working parties by constant sorties, in which the impetuosity of their attack, and the superiority of their valour, invariably gave them the advantage. These incessant checks greatly impeded the advance of the trenches; whilst, on each occasion, vast numbers of the defenceless pioneers fell beneath the sword of the garrison.

Disaffection had, indeed, from the very commencement of the expedition, shown itself throughout the Ottoman host. Upon the night when the fleet had first

made its appearance, a deserter succeeded in making his escape from one of the ships then lying at a distance of several miles from the coast. He was picked up at St. Nicholas's tower, having swam a distance stated to be between six and seven miles, under cover of the night. This fugitive, after having given correct information as to the magnitude of the force composing the expedition, stated that there was great reluctance on the part of the janissaries to engage in the operation. The history of the failure in the attempt made by their ancestors, forty years before, was well known to all of them, and the almost superhuman valour displayed on that occasion by the Knights of St. John had lost nothing of its terror by constant repetition. They were well aware that since that day much had been done to strengthen the defences of the fortress, and they were much disposed to look upon Rhodes, defended as it was by such a frowning mass of batteries, and garrisoned by the lion-hearted race before whom their forefathers had so often recoiled, as almost entirely impregnable.

The ill success of their first attempts in pushing forward the siege-works, and the fearful slaughter committed amongst their pioneers, by the constant and harassing sorties of the garrison, completed their disaffection. Murmurs and remonstrances soon made themselves heard throughout the camp, and it was with difficulty that the troops could be induced to advance to what they considered certain destruction. Pyrrhus Pasha, an aged counsellor in whom Solyman placed the highest confidence, and who had been appointed to accompany the army, rather in the light of an adviser than a general, deemed it necessary to report this disaffection of the janissaries to his master, informing him that nothing

short of his own immediate presence on the spot could control the turbulence of the mutineers. Solyman had staked too much on the issue of the struggle to permit of its miscarriage through any dissatisfaction on the part of his own troops; and his decision was very promptly formed, so soon as he became acquainted with the case. Hastily assembling a force of some 15,000 men, he at once hurried to the scene of action, determined to stifle by his presence every symptom of revolt, before it should have had time to gain head against him. By a judicious mixture of clemency and severity, he rapidly restored the spirit of his army; and the late mutineers, ashamed in the presence of their redoubtable sultan, of those murmurings and that insubordination in which they had indulged, now became fired with an anxious desire to efface the memory of their cowardice, and fighting, as they did, under the eye of their monarch, sought only for an opportunity to distinguish themselves.

Meanwhile, a plot of a most dangerous character had been discovered within the limits of the city, the details of which had been arranged, and were to have been carried into execution by a woman. This female, who was a slave within the town, and a Turk by nation, eager for the success of her countrymen, and, at the same time, anxious to regain her own freedom, devised the idea of setting fire to the city at several points, and of giving admission to the besiegers during the confusion which would ensue. This design she communicated to several of her fellow slaves, and she even succeeded in establishing an intelligence with the commander of the Turkish army. The hour for the attempt had already been agreed upon, and all the necessary arrangements made to ensure its complete success, when, by an inadvertency

on the part of one of the confederates, the existence of the plot became revealed to the authorities. The conspirators were at once seized and subjected to torture; under the agony of which a complete confession was extorted from all concerned, excepting only the adventurous female who had devised the scheme, and who stoutly maintained her innocence, in spite of the extreme tortures to which she was subjected. Her constancy remained unshaken to the end; and she suffered the last penalty of the law without breathing one syllable to inculpate either herself or others. Of her guilt, however, if guilt such an attempt can be called on the part of one who was detained a slave within the town, there was not the shadow of a doubt; and her severed limbs, publicly exposed upon the ramparts, served ever after as a warning to deter others from similar projects.

Suspicions of treason throughout this siege appear to have been very prevalent; and the rumours to that effect which were constantly being spread about, engendered an universal feeling of distrust, highly prejudicial to the maintenance of good discipline within the garrison. Many of these suspicions were entirely groundless, and the offspring of pure imagination; still, there lurked within the ramparts an amount of treachery amply sufficient to account for their existence. The Jewish doctor still resided within the town, and succeeded in maintaining an intercourse with the Turkish leaders, whereby much valuable information was imparted to them. It was by his suggestion that the besieging artillery was turned against St. John's church, from which elevated spot the garrison had been enabled to overlook the whole Turkish camp, and to trace their operations in the trenches. A few days' practice at so

elevated a target, sufficed to achieve its overthrow, and the Knights were from that time deprived of a post of observation which they had found extremely useful.

The numerous sorties in which the garrison had indulged during the earlier days of the siege had, it is true, materially impeded the works of the besiegers, and caused the slaughter of vast crowds of their Wallachian pioneers, but these successes had not been gained without the occurrence of a certain amount of loss to themselves, and L'Isle Adam, who felt that every life under his command was of more value to him than a hundred were to the Turks, in whose countless battalions such casualties made but little impression, strictly forbade their further continuance. The Turks were thus enabled to labour at their trenches and batteries, without any further opposition on the part of the town, other than could be afforded by the ceaseless play of artillery, which was brought to bear upon every point of approach with the most fatal precision and accuracy. The cessation of these sorties prevented the capture of any further prisoners being effected, and the Grand-Master speedily found the disadvantage of being no longer acquainted with the movements which took place within the enemy's camp. In this dilemma, a party of sailors undertook to provide the information so much required; dressing themselves in Turkish habiliments, and speaking the language of that country with facility, they left the harbour during the night in a boat, and coasting along the shore, proceeded fearlessly into the midst of the Turkish encampment. Here they succeeded in inveigling two genuine Moslems into their craft, and returned undiscovered into the town. The unfortunate captives were at once taken up to the top

of St. John's tower, which had not as yet been demolished; and there they were questioned by Martinigo, the Venetian engineer, and two other Knights, upon various points connected with the besiegers' array; and they were very plainly given to understand, that at the least symptom of prevarication on their parts, or at the slightest hesitation to afford the information demanded, they would at once be hurled headlong from the dizzy height on which they stood. Under the pressure of such a menace as this, one too which the stern glances of their captors proved to be no idle jest, everything which they knew connected with their army was at once disclosed to their interrogators.

The order in which the besiegers' forces were encamped thus became known to the defenders. Their lines stretched in a complete arc round the ramparts of the city, their flanks resting on the water's edge at either side. On the extreme left stood the detachment commanded by the pirate Curtoglu; next to whom were the janissaries, commanded by their aga; then the troops of the Beglier Bey of Natolia; on St. Stephen's hill, which was the centre of the position, were the far famed Mamelouks, who composed the personal body-guard of the sultan; next to whom were the divisions of Achmet Pasha and Pyrrhus Pasha; the circuit being closed by the troops under the command of Mustapha Pasha, who was Captain-General of the whole expedition. As their fleet stretched across from one flank to the other, the unfortunate garrison was completely surrounded both by land and sea, and it was impossible for any reinforcement to effect an entrance into the port without breaking through the strict blockade which had been established.

The Ottoman sultan had staked his military renown upon the successful issue of the enterprise, and from the moment when he first planted his foot upon the Rhodian soil he determined either to witness his banner waving in triumph over its far-famed ramparts, or to find a grave in that land which he had attempted to conquer. In order to mark distinctly his fixed determination to persist in the prosecution of the siege, he caused his soldiers to build him a palace within the limits of the camp, of so durable a character, as to preclude all idea of departure. When, indeed, we consider the enormous multitude whose lengthened array stretched around the devoted city, it appears almost incredible that any serious attempt at resistance should have been made; but the Knights of St. John had never been accustomed to count their foes, and, justly proud of those fortifications which it had taken their fraternity two hundred years to raise, they would have maintained their attitude of defiance though their island had swarmed with twice that number of invaders.

From the same source whence he had gained the information already detailed, Martinigo also learnt the number and magnitude of the battering train which had accompanied Solyman's army. This train included six brass cannon, for throwing balls of three palms and a half in dimensions; fifteen others of from five to six palms; twelve large bombards of from nine to ten palms; two others still larger, measuring eleven palms. In addition to these there were twelve basilisks of eight palms, and fifteen double cannon for throwing iron balls. There were also twelve brass mortars for vertical fire, carrying balls of from seven to eight palms. From these mortars the cannoneers of the Turkish army had ex-

pected great advantage; and an incessant fire was poured from them into the town. Bourbon records that they discharged 1713 stone shot, and eight brass balls, filled with artificial fire, during the early part of the siege. These brass balls were in all probability the first attempt at shells which history has recorded; and from the fact that so few were made use of, we may probably conclude that they were not found to answer the purpose for which they were intended.

The sultan had not long continued the direction of the siege before he discovered that from the position in which his trenches were situated he was unable to gain any command over the fortifications which he was attacking. To obviate this difficulty, he directed two large cavaliers to be raised; one in front of the bastion of Italy, the other between the posts of Spain and Auvergne. As the site selected for these stupendous works was completely commanded by the cannon of the town, and as, from the strenuous manner in which the operation was pushed forward, it became evident to the garrison that something of more than ordinary importance and magnitude was contemplated, every battery which could be brought to bear upon the spot played with unceasing vehemence; and the losses sustained by the Turkish pioneers was prodigious. Heaps of slain marked the advance of the structure; but as Solyman held the lives of these unfortunate peasantry in no esteem, the labour was pushed forward with undiminished energy. Spite of all the power of the Rhodian artillery, the mounds rose higher and higher, until at length they dominated over the ramparts in their front, and exposed the defenders to a galling fire from their summit.

Whilst this work was being carried on, a division was made in the Turkish camp, by which the circuit of attack was divided amongst the principal leaders of the army. Mustapha Pasha directed that against the English quarter; Pyrrhus Pasha was opposed to the Italians; Achmet Pasha, assisted by the aga of the janissaries, directed the operations against the bastions of Spain and Auvergne; the Beglier Bey of Natolia against Provence; and the Beglier Bey of Romania, from the gardens of St. Anthony, opposed himself to the German post in the tower of St. Nicholas. Several futile attempts were made to reduce the German bastion and the tower of St. Nicholas, but the powerful fire brought to bear upon the Turkish batteries by the skill of Martinigo utterly annihilated their efficiency.

A more general distribution of their cannon was then decided upon; and for a whole month the air resounded with the constant roar of artillery, which in all directions was belching forth its murderous fire against the ramparts of the devoted city. The bastions of England and Italy soon began to show signs of the vigour with which they had been attacked; at the former spot a new rampart had been constructed around the old one, but a short time prior to the commencement of the siege, and this new wall it was which gave way. The more ancient one proved a better defence, and resisted the shock of the enemy's artillery long after the other had crumbled. The unflagging energy of the garrison repaired these damages as rapidly as they were caused, by the sinking of ditches, and the construction of retrenchments behind the vulnerable points. Soliman perceived that, with antagonists such as these, a simple war of artillery might last for ever, since in every

direction new defences sprang up as rapidly as the old were demolished; he determined, therefore, upon pushing forward his attack upon different principles; and for this purpose he had recourse to mining. Shafts were sunk in various directions, and galleries driven forward beneath the principal bastions. Martinigo had, however, foreseen the probability of this mode of approach; and the countermines which he had prepared before the commencement of the siege materially assisted him in opposing them. By the simple aid of the distended parchment of a drum, he was enabled to detect the vicinity of the enemy's miners when at work, through the vibration of the earth; and his measures were taken accordingly to destroy their advance.

Two galleries, however, which had been driven beneath the bastion of England, eluded his vigilance, and the first warning which the defenders at that post received was conveyed in the form of two fearful explosions, which overthrew the entire salient of the work. A battalion of Turks, who had been drawn up within their trenches, awaiting the result of springing the mine, no sooner beheld the cloud of dust and the volume of smoke which darted into the air, and heard the crash which betokened the downfall of the rampart and the opening of a way for themselves into the heart of the city, than they dashed forward with a wild shout of triumph, and mounting the breach still smoking in its ruins, gained the summit before the defenders, aghast at the calamity which had befallen them, could regain sufficient presence of mind to oppose the onslaught. The standard of the Prophet was planted on the conquered rampart, and the victorious foe, flushed with this moment of success, pushed forward

with redoubled ardour, until the bastion appeared inevitably lost. Here, however, they were fortunately brought to a check by the inner retrenchment, behind which the Knights, now recovered from their momentary confusion, opposed a steady and obstinate resistance. At this critical juncture the Grand-Master made his appearance upon the scene, followed by the body-guard who always accompanied him. At the moment of the explosion, he had been engaged in the celebration of mass in the chapel of St. Mary of Victory, built by D'Aubusson. The alarm reached him at the moment when the officiating priest had intoned the prayer "Deus in adjutorium meum intende." "I accept the angury," cried out the Grand-Master, and then turning to those by whom he was surrounded, he exclaimed, "Come, my brethren, let us exchange the sacrifice of our prayers and praises for that of our lives, and let us die, if God so wills it, in defence of our religion." Roused to enthusiasm by this noble exhortation, they rushed to the point of assault, hurled themselves into the midst of the contending battalions, and in a few moments carried all before them. Foremost in the fray stood L'Isle Adam, his gigantic and burly frame conspicuous amidst his compeers, as armed with a short pike he dashed vehemently at the foe, and both by word and deed encouraged his followers to drive back the invading swarms. A few moments of desperate strife sufficed to attest the moral and physical superiority of the Knights of St. John. Cowering under the withering storm directed against their front, the Turks, unable not only to advance but even to maintain themselves upon the ground already gained, gradually gave way, and poured in confusion back

through the breach which they had so shortly before entered in triumph.

Mustapha Pasha had been watching the fortunes of the day from the advanced trenches, and had been congratulating himself with the hopes that Rhodes was gained. He was not, however, long left in the indulgence of this vain dream, and his fury, as he beheld his receding battalions fleeing tumultuously from the scene of strife, exceeded all bounds. Hastily drawing his scimitar, he rushed upon the foremost of the fugitives, and in the vehemence of his rage, cut down several with his own hand. The remainder, staggered at this unlooked for proceeding, and finding that they had as much to fear from a retreat as from an advance, rallied at his call. Led by himself in person, the breach was once more mounted, and the struggle again renewed. Their advantage, however, had now been lost, and it was not possible even for the valour of Mustapha to restore the fortunes of the day. Bravely, however, he combated, and fiercely he struggled once again to penetrate within the ruined rampart, but it was vain. The breach was now crowned by those who were well able to maintain it against all the turbaned hosts whom he could hurl upon their serried front; and the baffled and discomfited columns of the Infidel were eventually forced to relinquish the strife, and to retire in despair to the shelter of their trenches.

It would prove an almost endless task to describe the constant succession of assaults by means of which Mustapha endeavoured to regain the advantage which he had lost in his first attempt. In each case the means employed, both in the attack and the defence, were almost precisely similar; and they invariably

ended in the discomfiture of the Infidels, who were always driven back into their trenches with the most fearful slaughter. Indeed, the detail of the events which occurred during the month of September would consist of a succession of scenes similar to those already depicted. The sudden alarm, caused either by the explosion of a mine, or the appearance of the foe defiling in battle array from his trenches; the hasty call to arms, the ringing of the bells, whereby the impending danger was notified to the garrison generally, the rush of the assailants, the firm stand of the defenders, the fiercely shouted war-cry re-echoing from either side, the roar of artillery, and the incessant rattle of the smaller pieces of ordnance, the shouts of the combatants, the fearful groans of the wounded, the flashing of Greek fire, and the fatal hissing of the seething pitch, as its deadly contents were poured upon the foe who were swarming upon the breach; such were the principal details of the hideous picture which these scenes of strife invariably presented; what need, therefore, to repeat the tale? The results are the only real points of importance, and these were invariably the same. Though the assaulting columns were numbered by thousands and tens of thousands, selected from the choicest flower of Solyman's army, whilst the defenders consisted of but a few hundred Christians, harassed, exhausted, and weakened by their previous efforts; still upon each successive occasion the countless swarms of the Moslem were forced to recoil from the impassable barrier of Christian steel.

Thus upon the 13th, the 17th, and the 24th of September, the most furious attempts were made to carry the town. Upon the 13th of September the attack was

made on the Italian quarter; on the 17th the English bastion withstood the violence of the assault, the celebrated English commander, John Buck, falling upon this occasion gloriously at the head of his language. Upon the 24th of September, in accordance with the suggestions of Mustapha, the attack was not confined to a single point, but was directed against every quarter where a practicable breach had been made in the ramparts. The bastions of Spain, Italy, and Auvergne were all assailed simultaneously; yet even this gigantic effort of superior force failed in its purpose. Although several temporary advantages enabled the besiegers to gain a footing upon the rampart, and to plant the standard of their religion upon its blood-stained summit, still the success was in each case but momentary, and the impetuous onset of the garrison invariably ended by restoring the fortunes of the day. In order to encourage the efforts of his soldiery by his own immediate presence, the sultan had caused a scaffolding to be erected, from whence he might personally witness the success of the assault. He had fired his soldiers with the prospect of an enormous booty, having promised to yield up to them the whole plunder of the city; and this, combined with the knowledge that they were combating under the immediate eye of their sovereign, had roused them to a pitch of enthusiasm such as he had fondly hoped must prove the precursor of victory. If, however, the assailants were fired by the hope of gain, and the prospect of distinction, the defenders were equally nerved to the combat by an enthusiastic sense of religious devotion, and by the energy which despair had brought to their aid. The latter incentives proved in the event victorious, and Solyman had the mortification of wit-

nessing, from his lofty post of observation, the utter discomfiture of his forces.

Sounding a retreat, he descended to his tent, and in the bitterness of his mortification resolved, to wreak his vengeance on those who had originally counselled the expedition. Both Mustapha and Pyrrhus were condemned to instant execution; and the sentence would most certainly have been carried into effect, had not the other captains of the host, by their intercession, prevailed on him to reverse the decree. They were, however, banished from the camp, and forced to return to Asia, whilst the siege was yet in abeyance. The Admiral Curtoglu was reserved for a far more humiliating fate, having been sentenced to undergo the indignity of corporal punishment on the poop of his own galley; after which he was ignominiously expelled from the fleet: the reason alleged for this severity being, that he had neglected to make use of the opportunities presented to him of aiding the land forces in their assault by means of a naval diversion.

Whilst these successes were enabling the garrison still to maintain their resistance against the Turks, the seeds of those disastrous results which were eventually to accomplish the loss of the town had commenced to show themselves. Although, prior to the commencement of the siege, it had been reported to L'Isle Adam, by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, that the quantity of powder stored in their magazines was sufficient for a siege, even though its duration should extend for upwards of a year, yet a month had barely elapsed before it became manifest that the supply was too limited for the occasion. In addition to the powder within the magazines, there were large stores of saltpetre within the town; and

L'Isle Adam promptly established a manufactory of gunpowder, under the immediate superintendence of two Knights and a committee of citizens. Even with this aid, however, it became necessary to practise the most rigid economy in the expenditure of ammunition; and the efforts of the garrison, in opposing the approaches of the besiegers, were much constrained and impeded by this vital want.

Treason also shortly began to display itself. The incident of the female slave who had organised a rising in aid of her countrymen without the walls, has already been mentioned; and the dread of a similar attempt on the part of her fellow slaves was a perpetual source of apprehension. The Jewish doctor who had been placed in Rhodes as a spy by the father of Solyman, and who had contrived to maintain a constant correspondence with Mustapha during the siege, was at length detected in the very act of discharging a treasonous billet into the enemy's camp, attached to an arrow. The evidence against him was positive and conclusive; he was nevertheless submitted to the torture, in the hope of eliciting from him the extent of his misdeeds, and, under its pressure, he confessed to having informed the enemy of the dearth of ammunition, and state of destitution in which the town was plunged; and that he had urged them to persevere in the siege in spite of every obstacle, as they were sure eventually to prove successful. His fate was such as he deserved, but the mischief he had caused did not end with him, as, but for the information which he had imparted, in all human probability Rhodes would not have fallen.

As it was, the constant ill-success which had attended his efforts, and the fearful carnage which had decimated

his troops, caused Solyman to pause, and ponder well the advisability of abandoning the enterprise. At that moment the fate of the city hung suspended in the balance, and a feather's weight would have inclined it in her favour. Truly it was a glorious sight, to contemplate an army of well nigh 200,000 men thus baffled and held at bay by a garrison reduced through its many casualties to little more than 1500 fighting men. Those fortifications with which they had, at so great a cost of labour and material, surrounded the enceinte of their town, had crumbled beneath the indefatigable artillery of the enemy. Huge gaping breaches in every direction laid open the town to instant assault, and yet, destitute though they had become of even the ordinary necessaries of life; short of powder, food, and wine; they still protracted the defence with undiminished obstinacy, and stood upon the shattered relics of their bulwarks, determined to maintain them whilst there yet remained a Knight to oppose with his person the entrance of a Turk.

It is not surprising that in this desperate situation men should lend a ready ear to tales of treason amongst themselves. It was evident to every mind that treachery did exist somewhere within the garrison; all that went on within the town was well-known to Solyman, and many points in his attack had been altered in consequence of information which he had received. They scarcely knew where to look for the traitor that was among them, and each one glanced fearfully at his neighbour, as though feeling that in such a case none were to be trusted. At this critical moment, suspicion was directed against the superior dignitaries of the Order by a Spanish pilgrim, a female of great reputed

sanctity, who was then residing at Rhodes, having lately returned from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Her pious demeanour had gained her great influence amongst the people, who were led to attribute to her supernatural powers. This woman, perambulating the streets with naked feet, commenced denouncing some of their leaders, asserting that the calamities which had befallen Rhodes were the results of the vengeance of God, called down upon them on account of the iniquities prevailing amongst their chiefs. No names were mentioned, but general suspicion, thus turned in a particular direction, awaited but the slightest mark to draw down the vengeance of the community upon the unfortunate individual who might become its victim.

Whilst the ferment was at its height, a servant of the chancellor D'Amaral, named Blaise Diaz, was detected on the bastion of D'Auvergne with a bow in his hand. As this was not the first time that he had been seen under similar circumstances, he was arrested and brought before the Grand-Master. By his order the man was interrogated before the judges of the castellany, and under the influence of the question he admitted his guilt, averring that he had been employed by his master to discharge treasonable correspondence into the enemy's camp. D'Amaral was at once arrested and confronted with his accuser, who in his presence repeated the charge. No sooner had the name of the chancellor become bruited abroad, in connection with the treason that had so disturbed the minds of the populace, than numbers rushed forward, eager to add corroborative testimony in support of the accusation. The arrogance of his conduct, and the haughty insolence of his bearing, had created him many enemies in every sphere of life; and now,

when the cloud of suspicion had fallen upon his fair fame, all were ready to lend a helping hand to complete his destruction; nor was there found one to breathe a word for the undeviating gallantry of his conduct during the forty years of good service which he had rendered to the Order. A Greek priest deposed that he had seen the chancellor with Diaz on the bastion of Auvergne, and that the latter had discharged an arrow with a letter attached to it from the rampart. Other evidence was also adduced to prove that on the election of L'Isle Adam, he had asserted that that Knight would be the last Grand-Master of Rhodes. Upon this testimony he was submitted to torture, which, however, he bore with unswerving fortitude, asserting that he had nothing to reveal, and that at the close of a life spent in the service of the Order, he would not disgrace his former career by the assertion of a falsehood to rescue his aged limbs from the pain of the rack.

His firmness and constancy did not avail to save him from those who were clamorous for his death. The concentrated hatred of years was now poured upon his devoted head, and his doom was irrevocably sealed. Diaz, of whose guilt there could not be the shadow of a doubt, was sentenced to be hanged and quartered; which decree was carried into execution on the 6th of November. D'Amaral, whose rank forbade so degrading a death, was doomed to be beheaded. Prior to this last scene, however, it was necessary that he should be stripped of the habit of his Order, which ceremony was carried into effect in the church of St. John, on the 7th of November, and on the following day he suffered the last penalty of the law, in the public square, with the

same dignity and firmness that had characterised the whole of his previous conduct.

Of the two contemporary writers who have given accounts of this siege, both of whom were eye-witnesses to the events they record, one, namely the Chevalier de Bourbon, asserts the guilt of the chancellor without hesitation, and may be fairly taken as the mouthpiece of the general opinion within the town. The other, however, Fontanus, who was one of the judges appointed to investigate the charge, is far more obscure upon the matter, and a careful perusal of his work leads to the supposition that he had detected no proofs of guilt in D'Amaral. Never, perhaps, was man condemned to death upon weaker evidence. The deposition of his own servant, who, it must be remembered, had been detected in a treasonable act, and might naturally wish to save himself by fixing the guilt of the transaction upon another, should have been received with great caution. The evidence of the Greek priest was absolutely worthless. Why, if he had previously witnessed the transmission of treasonable communications, had he not denounced the criminal at once, at a time when treason was known to be fraught with so imminent a danger? The explanation which D'Amaral gave of this man's evidence was probably correct, when he asserted that it was the effect of spite, owing to his having frequently had occasion to find fault with the looseness of his life, so scandalous in a member of his profession. That was not, however, a moment when men weighed calmly either their motives or their actions. The mere suspicion of treason was in itself sufficient for condemnation, and the chancellor D'Amaral fell a noble, and as far as

history can judge, an innocent victim to popular clamour.

Meanwhile, the sultan was weighing in his own mind the advisability of abandoning the siege; and this design he would have carried into effect had he not been informed by an Albanian deserter of the state of destitution to which the garrison was reduced. Upon the receipt of this information, he at length determined to persevere; and either to triumph over the obstinate resistance of the town, or to find a grave beneath its soil. Upon the degradation of Mustapha, Achmet Pasha had been nominated to the chief command; and under his leadership several fresh assaults were made, and as invariably repulsed. Upon each occasion the breaches became wider, and the ramparts more untenable; the defenders were fewer, and their strength more exhausted; hope had given way to despair, and the prospect of a relief from Europe had grown more and more dim; still the foe was ever driven back, and Solyman was forced to admit that he should be enabled to enter the city only when the last of its illustrious defenders lay stretched upon its ramparts.

Not only the men in this desperate struggle earned for themselves the proud meed of glory so protracted a defence well merited; the women of Rhodes, in the fearful emergency, proved themselves worthy helpmates to the heroic garrison. Many stories are told of their courage and devotion during the trying crisis; and throughout they appear to have aided materially, by precept and example, in maintaining the constancy of the besieged. One woman, a Greek by birth, and either the wife or the mistress of an officer of the garrison, (since she is variously reported as either), gained for her

memory an imperishable renown by her sad though brilliant fate, upon the occasion of one of these latter assaults. She had been engaged in bringing wine and refreshments to the defenders, when, at the very moment that the Turks appeared about to force the barrier opposed to them, and penetrate into the town, she saw her husband struck to the earth, and perish beneath the weapons of the assailants. Overwhelmed with despair at this sad spectacle, she rushed to her home, conceiving that the last hour of Rhodian freedom had arrived, and that the foe were even then penetrating into the town. Vowing that her children should never fall alive into the hands of the Turks, to be trained up in the errors of Islamism, and to become apostates to that religion in which they had been born, she slew them both, and then returning to the scene of strife, rushed into the thickest of the struggle, and fell covered with wounds; not, however, before she had amply avenged the fate of her lover.

When the women were capable of acts such as these, the glorious defence which Rhodes effected ceases to be matter of surprise. There is, however, a limit to the powers of human endurance, and the time had now come when that limit appears to have been reached. The resistance which was still offered was as indomitable as ever; although the Turk had established himself permanently upon two distinct points on the ramparts, he was not yet master of the place; and as each successive bulwark was forced and abandoned, fresh ones sprang up. The churches of St. Pantaleon and Notre Dame de la Victorie had both been destroyed to prevent their occupation by the advancing enemy, and their ruins had served to form a fresh barrier to his progress. Well

might Solyman begin to despair of ever calling the city his own; for six months had he poured all the gigantic resources in his possession against its bulwarks, sixty thousand men had, according to the statement of Achmet Pasha himself, fallen beneath the swords of the garrison, in addition to from forty to fifty thousand who had succumbed to disease and the inclemency of the weather; and yet, after all this sacrifice, he found himself advancing into the town, only in the face of ever-renewing barricades. He might, it was true, by the sheer force of numbers, and an obstinate perseverance in the contest, gradually destroy even the last vestige of resistance, but it would be only to gain a ruin tenanted by corpses.

Then, too, he could not hope that succour for the garrison would be much longer delayed in its arrival. Owing to the disturbed character of European politics, he had been enabled to continue his struggle against Rhodes for a period of six months unmolested; but now that the gallant resistance it was maintaining was being told throughout Europe with enthusiasm; when men were gazing with admiration upon the spectacle thus afforded to them, he could not expect that he would much longer be left to pursue his object undisturbed. Under these circumstances he acquiesced eagerly in the proposal of Achmet Pasha, that the garrison should be invited to capitulate. Unwilling, however, that such a suggestion should appear to emanate from himself personally, he directed a Genoese, named Monilio, who was present in his camp, to undertake the mission. Matters were prepared for him by the transmission of sundry letters, which were shot into the town, and in which the sultan urged upon the people

to surrender, promising both life and liberty for themselves and families, in case of a speedy compliance, and threatening them with the most dire vengeance, should their resistance be further protracted.

When these letters had had sufficient time to create the effect intended, Monilio presented himself one morning before the bastion of Auvergne, requesting an interview with Matteo de Via, one of the leading citizens of Rhodes. Upon this request being refused, he commenced to urge those to whom he was speaking to demand terms of capitulation from the sultan, drawing, at the same time, a most fearful picture of the consequences, in case they neglected to do so. In this attempt he met with a haughty repulse, being informed that the Knights of St. John only treated with the Infidels sword in hand. With this unsatisfactory answer, Monilio returned to the camp, but two days later he again appeared, bearing, as he averred, a letter from the sultan to the Grand-Master. This letter L'Isle Adam refused to receive, and the messenger was informed that if he attempted any further parleying, he would be fired upon. The Grand-Master had long since decided upon the line of conduct he intended to pursue. He was well aware that his own resources were too far exhausted to admit of his protracting the defence much longer. Still he had ever in view the prospect of a relief from Europe; and even if this last hope should fail him, he had determined to make the ruins of Rhodes the common grave of himself and his brethren, ere he would submit to yield it to the Infidel.

Had the town contained within its limits none but members of the Order of St. John, this resolution would most indubitably have been carried into effect, and

history would have had to record a far bloodier and more tragical termination than that which Providence decreed should be the fate of the city. It no sooner, however, became noised abroad that the subject of capitulation had been mooted from the Infidel camp, than a cabal arose in the town to urge its acceptance. There were not wanting those who preferred life to the glory of a further resistance; and, indeed, it may well be considered, that to men unfettered by the vows which bound the members of the Order, further opposition, under such hopeless circumstances, must have appeared perfect madness. The principal citizens commissioned their metropolitan to urge upon the Grand-Master the necessity of treating with the enemy. L'Isle Adam now found that it did not depend entirely upon himself to carry his heroic resolutions into effect. Without the concurrence of the citizens, this would be impossible; and the metropolitan openly assured him that that concurrence would not be obtained.

A council was therefore summoned to deliberate upon the matter; and, whilst it was sitting, three deputies from the townspeople appeared, who presented a petition signed by the principal inhabitants, in which they implored the Order to provide for the safety of their wives and children, and to rescue from the polluting profanations of the Infidel those holy relics of their religion which they all held in such high veneration. The petition closed with a threat that if the Order neglected to comply with its requests, the inhabitants would feel themselves bound by every law divine and human to secure the safety of those dearer to them than life, through their own efforts. Upon hearing this petition, the Grand-Master called upon the prior of St. Gilles,

and the engineer Martinigo, to report upon the existing state of the town and fortifications. Thereupon, the latter rose and asserted, upon his honour and upon his conscience, that he did not consider the place longer tenable; that the slaves and other pioneers had all been either killed or wounded, so that they were no longer able to muster a sufficient amount of labour to move a piece of artillery from one battery to another; that it was impossible without men to carry on the repairs and reconstructions rendered necessary by the constant bombardments of the foe; that their ammunition and stores had long since been consumed, and the little powder which remained was barely sufficient to enable them to resist two more assaults; and that seeing the great advantage which the enemy had gained, they being already established within the town, without any possibility of dislodging them, he was of opinion that the city was lost, and that there was no further hope of saving it. The prior of St. Gilles corroborated this statement in every particular, and joined with Martinigo in urging the necessity of a capitulation.

The council was long and stormy: many there were who like the Grand-Master were desirous of emulating the self-devotion of their predecessors, and of burying themselves, and all belonging to them, beneath the ruins of Rhodes, ere they would permit the contamination of the Infidel's presence in the guise of a conqueror. Had the Knights been alone within the city, and had there not been a large and defenceless population placed under their charge, this glorious but suicidal line of policy would have been adopted. As it was, however, there were not wanting men in that council chamber who perceived that in passing this sentence of doom upon them-

selves they were also drawing down destruction upon others, who had no religious call for such a sacrifice, and who, having faithfully stood by them during many an eventful struggle, were now entitled to ample consideration at their hands. A further protraction of the defence would involve not only their own deaths, which they were justified in sacrificing for their faith, but also the ruthless and indiscriminate massacre of all the male population, the brutal violation of the women, the slavery of the children who would be trained up as apostates to their religion, and the profanation and destruction of those sacred relics which they prized so highly, and in the possession of which they considered themselves greatly favoured amidst the communities of Christendom. Moreover, they felt that the question at issue was not left entirely in their own hands. They might, it is true, decide upon maintaining the struggle, and thereby doom the town and all its inhabitants to certain destruction; but would the people stand tamely by and see themselves thus marked out for slaughter, without opposing an effort, simply because the council had so decreed it? The memorial which had already been read proved that such would not be the case; and that if they were not prepared to capitulate themselves, there were those among the people who would not hesitate to take the matter into their own hands.

If the town were to be yielded, it was far better that it should be by the unanimous act of its garrison, which would ensure their obtaining better terms from the sultan than he would be disposed to grant if he once knew that there was a division in their councils. It was therefore decreed that the next offer of parley should be accepted; and that the Grand-Master should

be authorised to secure the best terms which he could obtain. The chiefs of Solyman's army were too desirous of putting a stop to the fearful effusion of blood which had now been going on for six months, and of obtaining possession, upon almost any terms, of that city which seemed, as it were, to recede from their grasp as they advanced, to keep the garrison waiting long for an opportunity of negotiation.

Upon the tenth of December, a white flag was observed waving from the top of a church, standing within the limits of the Turkish position, and this was at once answered by another, hoisted upon a windmill near the Cosquino gate. Two Turks then advanced from the trenches for the purpose of opening a parley, and were met at the above-named gate by Martinigo and the prior of St. Gilles. They handed in a letter containing the conditions upon which the sultan would consent to a capitulation. In consideration of the instant surrender of the town, he was prepared to permit the Grand-Master with his knights, and such of the citizens of all ranks as might choose to leave the town, to depart with their personal baggage, and all their household property. Those who chose to remain were guaranteed in the undisturbed exercise of their religion, and were to be freed from tribute for five years; the churches were to be protected from profanation; and all property, both public and private, rescued from pillage. The letter concluded with the most awful threats and denunciations, if these terms were not at once accepted.

The council decided upon despatching an embassy to the Turkish camp; and nominated for this purpose Anthony Grollée, the standard-bearer of the Order, and a Rhodian named Robert Perrucey. These ambassadors

at once proceeded to the tent of Achmet Pasha, who on behalf of the Turks despatched into the city two hostages of high rank, to guarantee the safe return of the Rhodian envoys. On the following day Solyman admitted them to an audience, but commenced by ignoring the contents of his letter, conceiving it to have been beneath his dignity that he should have taken the initiative on the subject of capitulation. He however averred that he was willing to adhere to the terms therein specified, but that he required an immediate reply. A truce for three days was entered into, and one of the envoys was directed to return to Rhodes with the sultan's offer, the other being, meanwhile, retained in the Turkish camp.

Whilst this parley was going forward, a re-action set in amongst some of the more hot-headed of the youthful Rhodians. A tumultuous band of these turbulent fire-eaters presented themselves before the Grand-Master, complaining that he was opening negotiations with the enemy, by which the townspeople were to be sacrificed to ensure the safety of the Order; and that it was well known how useless it was to enter into any treaty with the Turks, who immediately upon the surrender of the town, would, as they had previously done in the case of Belgrade and other cities, at once repudiate the terms of the contract. They desired, therefore, to maintain the defence to the last moment, and urged upon the Grand-Master that he should at once break off all further parley. To this demand L'Isle Adam replied, that he was delighted to observe so martial a spirit still reigning within their bosoms; that their views coincided precisely with those which he had always personally maintained; and that, should the negotiations then

going forward not succeed, they might rest assured that he would call upon them to redeem their pledge, and assist him in protracting the defence of the town to the latest possible point. The irony of this speech could scarcely have passed unobserved; since none knew better than L'Isle Adam how little reliance was to be placed upon the idle vapourings and the martial braggadocio of these Rhodian heroes.

As he was still not entirely without hopes of a succour from Europe, he determined upon protracting the negotiations as far as possible. With this view he on the following morning despatched a fresh embassy to the Turkish camp, the real object of which was to gain time, but the ostensible one to endeavour to persuade Solyman to offer somewhat easier conditions. For this purpose he forwarded a letter, which had been received by Peter d'Aubusson from Bajazet, the grandfather of Solyman, in which that prince invoked the malediction of heaven upon any of his successors who should attempt to disturb the Order of St. John in the peaceable possession of the island of Rhodes. Achmet Pasha, to whom this letter was first shown, and who was extremely anxious that the negotiation should be brought to a successful termination, at once destroyed the document, feeling sure that if it ever came under the eye of his master, it would only stimulate his rage against the fraternity, by recalling to his memory an incident in the history of his forefathers which in no way redounded to the glory of his race.

At this juncture, and whilst the terms of the treaty were being discussed, an unfortunate collision between some of the members of the garrison and the Turks, in which several of the latter lost their lives, brought the

whole matter to a premature close; the truce was rescinded, the batteries reopened, and everything was placed upon its former warlike footing. Some prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the Turks were mutilated, by having their fingers, noses, and ears cut off, and in that miserable plight were sent back into the town with the message that such was the treatment the garrison might now expect at the hands of the sultan. L'Isle Adam was overjoyed at the failure of his negotiation. He had never entered into it warmly, and nothing but a stern sense of necessity and duty had induced him to give his consent to the attempt. Now that that attempt had been made, and had failed, and when the enemy were pursuing their attack with even greater vigour and animosity than ever, he felt that the project which he had entertained, of burying himself and his fraternity beneath the ashes of their city, would speedily be accomplished.

Mindful of the boastings in which the Rhodian youth had indulged, at a time when their valour appeared no more likely to be put to the test, he summoned them all to the ramparts, and allotting to each the post which he was to occupy, forbade any one to abandon it under pain of instant death. In the inflexible pursuance of this stern decree, the first who was discovered retiring from the scene of danger where he had been stationed, was seized, and by the direction of the Grand-Master, instantly hanged, to the great dismay of his brethren, who, now that their frothy enthusiasm had evaporated, beheld themselves doomed to certain destruction in no very pleasant frame of mind.

The recommencement of hostilities was followed up by an assault upon the retrenchment of the Spanish

bastion, still maintained by the Knights. This took place on the 17th of December, and although the struggle was continued for nearly the whole day, the Turks were once more worsted by the noble band of heroes to whom they were opposed, and were compelled to retire in discomfiture to their lines. On the following day, however, they were more successful, for the assault being renewed, they found themselves eventually left in undisputed possession of the last vestige of the bastion. This loss completed the dismay of the inhabitants. Those who had but a few days before been foremost in urging war to the knife, now pressed upon the Grand-Master the necessity of a speedy surrender.

Unable to control the panic of the multitude, and resting sure that they would, if opposed, speedily secure for themselves what they now demanded of him, he consented to re-open the negotiation, and fresh envoys were despatched to Solyman, with carte blanche to surrender the town upon the best terms they could obtain. Solyman received the ambassadors in his pavilion, in all the splendour of his imperial majesty, surrounded by the janissaries of his body-guard. Upon hearing the errand which had brought them into his presence, the sultan consented once again to offer the terms which he had previously tendered, and these conditions were immediately accepted by the envoys on behalf of L'Isle Adam. The principal stipulations were, that the citizens should remain in perfect freedom in their persons and in their religion; that the Knights should be permitted to leave the island in their own galleys, bearing with them all their personal property; and that such of the citizens as preferred to follow the fortunes of the Order, rather than remain at Rhodes under the

dominion of the Turks, should have free permission to do so; and that twelve clear days should be allowed for the embarkation. The churches were to be guaranteed from profanation, and their sacred relics were to remain the property of the Order.

That the due execution of the treaty might be ensured, the Turkish army was to be withdrawn from the vicinity for several miles, and only a select body of four thousand janissaries were to enter the gates, and take possession in behalf of their imperial master. In return for this clemency, so unusual in those days of sanguinary warfare, the Knights were to yield up peaceable possession, not only of the city, but of all its dependent islands, and the castle of St. Peter on the mainland. Twenty-five of the Knights of the Order, including two grand-crosses, and the same number of citizens, were to be given as hostages for the due execution of this treaty; and as soon as they had made their appearance in the Turkish camp, the aga of the janissaries, with the specified number of troops, entered the town, and took formal possession of it on behalf of the sultan.

Thus the island of Rhodes, after having remained for a period of two hundred years in the possession of the Knights of St. John, once more reverted to the power of the Infidel, from whom it had been torn by Fulk de Villaret. All the skill which engineering science had developed upon its massive fortifications, all the beauties which the genius of art had lavished upon its buildings, were now lost to the Order and to Christianity. That lovely island, the garden of the East, so replete with beauties both natural and artificial; that city whose lofty ramparts had so long frowned with proud disdain

upon the utmost efforts of its Infidel foe, now no longer owned the gentle sway of the friars of the Hospital; but still bearing the relics of its former grandeur, and still displaying in its buildings the magnificence of those who had raised it to what it was, passed for ever beneath the rule of the Moslem, whilst its former lords were once again doomed to seek their fortune upon the wide world.

Twice before, in narrating the history of the Order of St. John, has it been necessary to pause upon a picture very similar to this. The torrent of Christian enthusiasm, pouring eastward in its impetuous onset, had originally rescued the Holy Land from the desecration of the unbeliever. At the utmost confines of that newly acquired territory, we find the Knights of the Hospital the most powerful bulwark of the infant kingdom. As the enthusiasm of Europe died away, and the power of the Infidel was gradually concentrated and aggrandised, the pressure upon the Christian establishments in Syria became irresistible. Step by step the Hospitallers were driven backward, ever with their face to the foe, and never yielding one inch of ground until it had been watered with the blood of the noblest of their community. Jerusalem, Margat, Acre, and Rhodes were so many steps by which the overwhelming power of the Infidel had driven them to retire westward. Every stage in this progress had been dearly purchased; every effort which human ingenuity could devise, or human fortitude prompt, had been made to check this fatal retrogression, but in vain. For 200 years the fraternity had maintained this, their last bulwark in the East. Once during that period they had successfully resisted the whole might of the Turkish empire, and the defence

of Rhodes had become a bye-word of admiration throughout Europe.

Now they had for a period of six months withstood a force exceeding their own forty-fold. Ample time had, through their indomitable courage, been given to the nations of Europe to foil the ambition of Solyman, and to rescue from the hands of the Moslem the fairest flower of the Levant, but the opportunity had been rejected. Internecine strife and petty jealousies had prevented any interference on behalf of the besieged garrison. The Turk had been suffered to wreak his will unrestrained and uncontrolled, and the natural result followed, that the banner of the false prophet was at length to be seen waving over those battlements where the white cross of St. John had, during so many years, hurled its proud defiance, an object equally of hatred and of dread to the corsair of the East.

To the communities of Europe the loss of Rhodes was justly a subject of the deepest shame. Apathy and indifference could be stretched to no further point than that which they had been permitted to attain for the six months during which this memorable struggle lasted; and its unfortunate issue must ever remain a deep blot in the history of the sixteenth century. To the Knights of Rhodes, however, the event bears with it no such memory of disgrace. The gallantry which had so long withstood such desperate odds was warmly recognised, and enthusiastically hailed by admiring nations. As the struggle progressed, and its ultimate issue became more and more certain, men held their breath as they gazed upon that touching scene of heroism and endurance; and when at length, driven from their homes, feeble in number, and shattered in prospects, the relics

of that gallant band wandered westward in search of a new haven, they were everywhere greeted with such rapturous enthusiasm as well marked the sense which Europe entertained of the efforts which they had made. The feeling of the world was aptly expressed by Charles V., who upon hearing of the disastrous issue of the siege, turned to his courtiers and exclaimed, "There has been nothing so well lost in the world as Rhodes."

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE GRAND-MASTERS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, DISTINGUISHING THE VARIOUS NATIONS.

1.	Raymond du Puy	French	1118—1160
2.	Auger de Balben	French	1160—1162
3.	Arnaud de Comps	French	1162—1168
4.	Gilbert d'Ascali	Engl. (doubtful)	1168—1169
5.	Gastus	doubtful	1169
6.	Joubert	doubtful	1169—1179
7.	Roger des Moulins	doubtful	1179—1187
8.	Garnier de Napoli	English	1187
9.	Ermengard Daps	doubtful	1187—1192
10.	Godfrey de Duisson	French	1192—1194
11.	Alphonso of Portugal	Portuguese	1194—1195
12.	Geoffrey le Rat	French	1195—1207
13.	Guerin de Montaque	French	1207—1230
14.	Bertrand de Texi	French	1230—1231
15.	Guerin	doubtful	1231—1236
16.	Bertrand de Comps	French	1236—1241
17.	Peter de Villebride	doubtful	1241—1244
18.	William de Chateauneuf	French	1244—1259
19.	Hugh de Revel	French	1259—1278
20.	Nicholas Lorgue	doubtful	1278—1289
21.	John de Villiers	French	1289—1297
22.	Odon de Pius	French	1297—1300

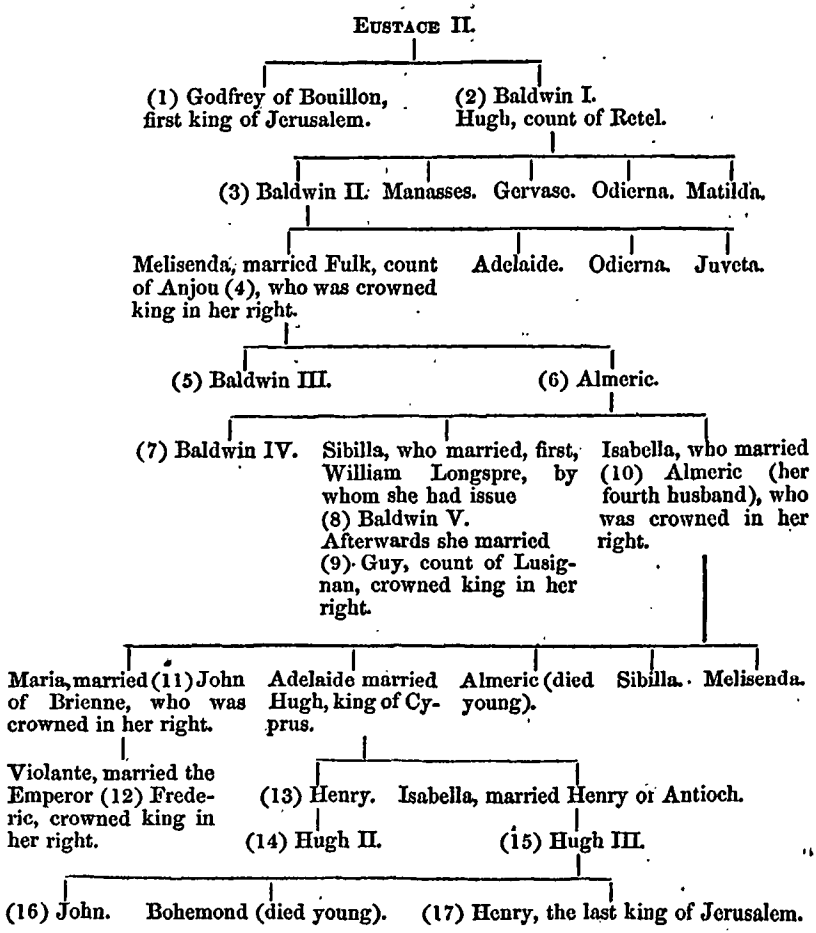
23.	William de Villaret	French	1300—1306
24.	Fulk de Villaret	French	1306—1319
25.	Elyon de Villanova	French	1319—1346
26.	Deodato de Gozon	French	1346—1353
27.	Peter de Cornillan	French	1353—1355
28.	Roger de Pius	French	1355—1365
29.	Raymond de Berenger	French	1365—1374
30.	Robert de Julliac	French	1374—1376
31.	Ferdinand d'Heredia	Spanish	1376—1396
32.	Philibert de Naillac	French	1396—1421
33.	Antoine Fluvian	Spanish	1421—1437
34.	John de Lastic	French	1437—1454
35.	James de Milli	French	1454 –1461
36.	Peter Raymond Zacosta	Spanish	1461—1467
37.	John Baptiste d'Ursins	Italian	1467—1476
38.	Peter d'Aubusson	French	1476—1503
39.	Almeric Amboise	French	1503—1512
40.	Guy de Blanchefort	French	1512—1513
41.	Fabricius Carretto	Italian	1513—1521
42.	Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam	French	1521—1534
43.	Peter du Pont	Italian	1534—1535
44.	Didier de Saint Jaille	French	1535—1536
45.	John d'Omedes	Spanish	1536—1553
46.	Claude de la Sangle	French	1553—1557
47.	John de la Valette	French	1557—1568
48.	Peter de Monte	Italian	1568—1572
49.	John L'Eveque de la Cassiere	French	1572—1581
50.	Hugh de Verdala	French	1581—1595
51.	Martin Garces	Spanish	1595—1601
52.	Alof de Vignacourt	French	1601—1622
53.	Louis Mendes de Vasconcellos	Spanish	1622—1625
54.	Antony de Paule	French	1625—1636
55.	John de Lascaris	French	1636—1657
56.	Martin de Redin	Spanish	1657—1660
57.	Annet de Clermont	French	1660
58.	Rafael Cottoner	Spanish	1660—1663
59.	Nicholas Cottoner	Spanish	1663—1680
60.	Gregory Caraffa	Spanish	1680—1690

61.	Adrian de Vignacourt .	French .	1690—1697
62.	Raymond Peirelos .	Spanish .	1697—1720
63.	Mark Antony Zondodari	Italian .	1720—1722
64.	Antony Manuel de Vilhena .	Portuguese	1722—1736
65.	Raymond Despuig .	Spanish .	1736—1741
66.	Emmanuel Pinto .	Portuguese	1741—1773
67.	Francois Ximenes .	Spanish .	1773—1775
68.	Emmanuel de Rohan .	French .	1775—1797
69.	Ferdinand de Hompesch	German .	1797—1799

French Knights	38
Spanish Knights	13
Italian Knights	5
Portuguese Knights	3
English Knights	2
German Knights	1
Doubtful	7

No. 2.

Genealogical Table of the Kings of Jerusalem.


Eustace II.
(1) Godfrey of Bouillon, first king of Jerusalem.
(2) Baldwin I.
Hugh, count of Retel.
(3) Baldwin II.
Manasses.
Gervase.
Odierna.
Matilda.
Melisenda, married Fulk, count of Anjou (4), who was crowned king in her right.
Adelaide.
Odierna.
Juveta.
(5) Baldwin III.
(6) Almeric.
(7) Baldwin IV.
Sibilla, who married, first, William Longspre, by whom she had issue (8) Baldwin V. Afterwards she married (9) Guy, count of Lusignan, crowned king in her right.
Isabella, who married (10) Almeric (her fourth husband), who was crowned in her right.
Maria, married (11) John of Brienne, who was crowned in her right.
Adelaide married Hugh, king of Cyprus.
Almeric (died young).
Sibilla.
Melisenda.
Violante, married the Emperor (12) Frederic, crowned king in her right.
(13) Henry.
Isabella, married Henry of Antioch.
(14) Hugh II.
(15) Hugh III.
(16) John.
Bohemond (died young).
(17) Henry, the last king of Jerusalem.

No. 3.

Chronological Table of the Mussulman Rulers, traced from Mahomet.

A.D. 632. Death of Mahomet.
634. Omar.
644. Osman.
656. Ali.

Division into the three Caliphates of Egypt, Damascus, and Cairo.

Caliphs of Egypt.

969. Morzz.
975. Azz Billah.
996. Hakem.
1021. Duher.
1036. Monstaur Billah. (The caliph who first authorised the erection of a Hospital at Jerusalem.)
1092. Barkiarck.
1094. Mostali. (Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, 1099.)
1101. Mansor.
1130. Haphed.

Sultans of Egypt.

1145. Nourrheddin.
1149. Dhafer.
1155. Fayez.
1160. Adhed Sedinillah.
1171. Saladin. (Loss of Jerusalem.)
1193. Aziz.
1198. Mansour.
1200. Saphadin I.
1218. Kamel.
1238. Saphadin II.
1240. Saleh.
1249. Moudham.

Mamelouk Sultans.

A.D. 1250. Aschraf.
1254. Azzedin.
1257. Nourrhedin.
1259. Koutoug.
1260. Bibais.
1277. Bereki Kan.
1279. Kelaon.

Ottoman Empire.

1288. Osman (or Othman).
1325. Orkan.
1359. Amurath (or Mourad) I.
1389. Bajazet I.
1402. Conquest by Tamerlane and death of Bajazet.
1402. Solyman I.
1410. Musa.
1413. Mahomet I.
1421. Amurath II.
1452. Mahomet II.
1480. First siege of Rhodes.
1481. Bajazet II. (Zizim's flight to Rhodes.)
1512. Selim I.
1520. Solyman II. (the Magnificent).
1522. Loss of Rhodes.
1565. Siege of Malta.
1566. Selim II.
1574. Amurath III.
1595. Mahomet III.
1603. Achmet I.
1617. Mustapha I.
1618. Osman II.
1622. Mustapha restored.
1623. Amurath IV.
1640. Ibrahim.
1649. Mahomet IV.
1687. Solyman III.
1692. Achmet II.
1695. Mustapha II.

A.D. 1703. Achmet III.
1730. Mahmoud.
1754. Osman III.
1757. Mustapha III.
1774. Achmet IV.
1789. Selim III.

No. 4.

ORIGINAL DONATION OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON TO THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN. (Ex Cod. papyrac. Biblioth. Vaticanæ, N. 3136, page 19.)

AU nom de la sainte, quidessevrer ne se puet, Trinite, Jê Godoffroy par la grace de Dieu et de la reigne ffus assavoyr a tous presens et avenir que come par la remission de mes pechies Je eusse chargie mon cuer et mes espaules dou signe dou sauvevur crucifie pour nous; Je parvins au dernay au luog ou ssaresterent les pies du tres aut Jhesu Crist, et come Je eusse visite le saint cepulcre dou Seignor et tous less saints luogs de saints hopitivées entendement de penitence a la fin Je parvins a lyglise dou benaure hospital, fondez en honor de Dieu et de sa tres benaurée mêre et de Saint Johan precursor dou Seignor, et voyant en ela dons de grace dou Saint Esperit qui no se porroyt recomtier, lesquels sont departis en les povres foybles et malades habundament et humblement vouz adyeu et de penitence a la dite mayson de l'hospital et a tous les freres une maison fondee sur monalem abryele mon boure en la froide montagne de tout ce qui apeut deli et ses rentes et avoir et porceor a touts jorns mays franchement. C'est don de ma donation fu fait en lan delincarnacion noutre Seignor en lan de la prise de Jerusalem MCLXXXIII en la seysesme epacte en la primieyra Indicion pour la salu de marme, de mon pere, et de ma mere, et de tous mes devantiers et de mes parens et de tous autres fiells et vis et mors.

No. 5.

LIST OF THE FIRST MEMBERS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, COTEMPORARIES WITH ITS FOUNDER, GERARD, FROM 1099 TO 1135. (From Paolo Antonio Paoli.)

Lambert . . .	Supposed to have been a son of Canon de Montaique, and to have been martyred by the Saracens.
Robert di Riccardi .	Robert Fitz Richard, an Englishman, Prior of the Order in England in 1100, and supposed to be of the family of Lacy.
Roger de Pagan or Payen	Master of the Hospital in Jerusalem in 1112.
Bojante Ruggiero .	Mentioned in a charter of Atto, Count d'Abuzzo.
Gualtier	Mentioned in a charter of Ponz, Count of Tripoli, 1105.
Bertrand	Prior of Monte Pellegrino, 1105.
Ridolfo . . .	Superior of the Hospital establishment at Jaffa, 1126.
Gubaldo . . .	Prior of Messina, named in a charter of Roger, King of Sicily, 1137.
Berand . . .	Prior of Arles in 1117.
Berald . . .	Hospitaller of St. Gyles, mentioned by Count Atto.
Pietro Barcinonise .	Mentioned in a charter dated 1117.
Bernard the Deacon .	
Ascelin . . .	
Pietro d'Andusia .	
Stephen Raymond .	
Poggio de Montlaur .	
Odo	
Culveto . . .	
Gerald . . .	Prior of Toulouse at its foundation, 1120.

Durand	Constable of the Order, named in a letter of Hugh, Seigneur of Jaffa, 1125.
Bertrand Arnold de Someri Robert	Named in a charter dated 1125.
Peter Malet	1126.
Pierre Raymond Regnier de Tiberias Pierre de Tiberias William of Jaffa. Pietro Galliziano Gerard William of Jaffa Pierre William the Chancellor	Named in a letter of Hugh, Count of Jaffa, 1126.
William de Saint Clement Anno	Named in a charter of Bernard, Bishop of Arles, 1129.
Raymond du Puy or Poggio	First Master.
Alfan	Named in a charter of Baldwin II., 1129.
Jean Turc.	Superior of the Order in France, 1130.
Gerard Jebert	Called also Josbert and Zebert, named by William of Tyre.
Andrea the Priest William Bertrand Hildebrand Chaco Gerard de Calumgum. Martin Re.	Named in a charter of Garnier, Seigneur of Cesarea, 1131.
Gerard the Subdeacon William Almeric Ridolfo	Named in a donation of Baldwin, Bishop of Beirat, 1133.
Ponsio the Priest Gerard—Clerico Gerard Giobbe Barro. Thomas Guarine	Named in a charter of Hugh, Count of Jaffa, 1133.
Oelardo	Named in a letter of Gonzelin, Count of Cesarea, 1134.

No. 6.

BULL OF POPE PASCHAL II., CONFIRMING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Paschal, bishop, and servant of such as are the servants of God, to his venerable son Gerard, founder and Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem, and to his lawful successors for evermore. The requests of a devout desire ought to meet with a corresponding fulfilment. Inasmuch, as of thy affection thou hast requested, with regard to the Hospital which thou hast founded in the city of Jerusalem, in proximity to the Church of the blessed John the Baptist, that it should be supported by the authority of the apostolic see, and fostered by the patronage of the blessed apostle Peter: We, therefore, much pleased with the pious earnestness of thy hospitality, do receive the petition with our paternal favour, and do ordain and establish, by the authority of this our present decree, that that house of God, your Hospital, shall now be placed, and shall for ever remain, under the protection of the apostolic see, and under that of the blessed Peter. All things whatsoever, therefore, which by thy persevering care and solicitude have been collected for the benefit of the said Hospital, for the support and maintenance of pilgrims, or for relieving the necessities of the poor, whether in the churches of Jerusalem, or in those of parishes within the limits of other cities; and whatsoever things may have been offered already by the faithful, or for the future may through God's grace be so offered, or collected by other lawful means; and whatsoever things have been, or shall be granted to thee, or to thy successors, or to the brethren who are occupied in the care and support of pilgrims, by the venerable brethren the bishops of the diocese of Jerusalem; we hereby decree shall be retained by you in peace and undiminished. Moreover, as to the tithes of your revenues, which ye collect everywhere at your own charge, and by your own toil, we do hereby fix and decree, that they shall be retained by your own Hospital, all

opposition on the part of the bishops and their clergy notwithstanding. We also decree as valid all donations, which have been made to your Hospital by pious princes, either of their tribute moneys or other imposts. We ordain furthermore, that at thy death no man shall be appointed in thy place, as chief and master, by any underhand subtlety, or by violence; but him only who shall, by the inspiration of God, have been duly elected by the professed brethren of the Institution. Furthermore, all dignities or possessions which your Hospital at present holds, either on this side of the water, to wit in Asia, or in Europe, as also those which hereafter by God's bounty it may obtain; we confirm them to thee and to thy successors, who shall be devoting themselves with a pious zeal to the cares of hospitality, and through you to the said Hospital in perpetuity. We further decree that it shall be unlawful for any man whatsoever rashly to disturb your Hospital, or to carry off any of its property, or if carried off to retain possession of it, or to diminish ought from its revenues, or to harass it with audacious annoyances. But let all its property remain intact, for the sole use and enjoyment of those for whose maintenance and support it has been granted. As to the Hospitals or Poor Houses in the Western provinces, at Burgum of St. Ægidius, Lisan Barum, Hispalum, Tarentum, and Messana, which are distinguished by the title of Hospitals of Jerusalem, we decree that they shall for ever remain, as they are this day, under the subjection and disposal of thyself and thy successors. If, therefore, at a future time, any person, whether ecclesiastical or secular, knowing this paragraph of our constitution, shall attempt to oppose its provisions, and if, after having received a second or third warning, he shall not make a suitable satisfaction and restitution, let him be deprived of all his dignities and honours, and let him know that he stands exposed to the judgment of God, for the iniquity he has perpetrated; and let him be deprived of the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, and of the benefits of the redemption of Our Lord, and at the last judgment let him meet with the severest vengeance. But to all who deal justly and rightly with the same, on them be the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that not only here below

they may receive the rewards of a good action, but also before the Judge of all mankind, they may enjoy the blessing of peace eternal.

I PASCHAL, Bishop of the Catholic Church.
I RICHARD, Bishop of Alboe, have signed.
I CALIXTUS, Bishop of the Catholic Church.
I LANDULPHUS, Bishop of Beneventum, have read and signed.

Given at Beneventum, by the hand of John, Cardinal of the Roman Church, and Librarian, on the 15th day of the calends of March, in the 6th indiction of the incarnation of our Lord, in the year 1113, and in the 13th year of the Pontificate of our Lord Pope Paschal II.

No. 7.

BULL OF POPE BONIFACE VIII., IN THE YEAR 1300, RECAPITULATING THE ORIGINAL RULE OF RAYMOND DU PUY, LOST AT THE CAPTURE OF ACRE. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Boniface, bishop, and servant of such as are servants of God, to his beloved sons the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, greeting, and apostolical benediction: Whereas, from the throne of apostolic eminence, whereon, by the will of the divine grace we have been placed, we are constantly reminded how that ye have constantly displayed a wholesome adherence to the divine commands (spurning all the allurements of this world, which, although attractive, are but an illusion), fearing not to expose both your persons and your possessions to jeopardy in their fulfilment; and whereas we have carefully called to mind how that ye have ever hitherto displayed the most devoted affection, and the most reverential zeal towards our person, and towards your mother the Church of Rome, and continue so to do at the present time; we have thought it fit, and do consider it reasonable that, bestowing

upon you and your Hospital our munificent grace, we should (so far as with God's permission we are enabled), admit your petitions to our favourable consideration. And whereas your prayer, when laid before us, was to the effect that some time since, at the capture of the city of Acre, ye lost the apostolic letter containing the provisions of your "Rule," with other things of no small value, for which reason ye have humbly petitioned of us, that whereas ye no longer possess the letter of the brother Raymond, at that time the Master of your Hospital, who established the aforesaid "Rule," signed and sealed with his leaden seal, in which letter the said "Rule" was distinctly laid down, as ye assert; we might be graciously pleased to grant to you under a bull from us, a renewal of this "Rule," as a guarantee of a greater precaution:

We, therefore, being ever solicitous for the prosperity and tranquillity, as well of yourself as of your Hospital, and being favourably disposed towards the granting of your pious requests, have caused the aforesaid "Rule," as it is understood to have been contained in the letter of the said brother Raymond, to be registered in the following terms, a few omissions and alterations of words having been made in it by our order. We, nevertheless, do confirm and renew the same "Rule," by our special grace, being well acquainted with it. The tenor of the letter was as follows:—

In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, Raymond, the servant of Christ's poor, and Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem, by the advice of the General Chapter of both clerical and lay brethren, have established the following precepts and statutes in the house of the Hospital of Jerusalem. In the first place, I desire that all those brethren who here dedicate themselves to the service of the poor, shall, by God's assistance, maintain inviolate the three promises which they have made to him, namely, chastity; obedience, which is to be understood to include whatever may be commanded by the Master; and to live without any property of their own; because the fulfilment of these three vows will be required of them by God at the last judgment. And let them not seek for, or claim as due to them, more than bread and water and raiment, which things are

promised to them; and let their raiment be humble, because our masters, the poor, whose servants we profess to be, appear scantily and meanly clad, and it is not right that the servant should be proudly arrayed whilst his master is humble.

Furthermore, it is ordained that their behaviour in Church shall be decorous, and their conversation such as befits their calling; let the clergy perform the service of the altar in white garments, and let each presbyter have a deacon, or a sub-deacon, to attend upon him, and when occasion demands it, let some other priest exercise this office; and let a light be for ever burning in the Church both by day and by night. And for the visitation of the sick, let a presbyter attend, dressed in white robes, bearing with reverence the Body of our Lord; and let him be preceded by a deacon, or a sub-deacon, or at least by an acolyte, bearing a lantern with a lighted candle, and a sponge filled with holy water. Furthermore, when the brethren appear in the cities or fortresses, let them not go alone, but two or three together; nor shall they select by whom they are to be accompanied, but shall go with whomsoever the Master shall direct. Also, when they have arrived at their destination let them remain together. In their gait, in their dress, and in all their deportment, let them do nothing which may give offence in the eyes of any one, but only that which befits their sacred calling. Moreover, whenever they may be in a house, or in church, or wherever else women may be present, let them mutually guard over one another's chastity. Nor let women wash either their hands or feet, or make their beds, and so may the God that dwelleth on high watch over them in that matter. Amen.

And let pious persons, both clerical and lay, be sent forth to seek alms for the holy poor. And when they shall require hospitality let them proceed to the church, or to the house of some person of good repute, and let them ask for food of that person for the sake of charity, and let them buy nothing else. And if in truth they find no one who will assist them, let them purchase by measure one meal only, by which to support life. And out of the alms which they may collect, let them secure neither lands nor pledges for themselves, but let them deliver the amount over to their Master, with a written account, and let

the Master transmit it with the paper to the Hospital, for the use of the poor. And of all their donations, let the Master take a third part of the bread, wine, and other nutriment, and should there be a superfluity, let him add what remains to the alms, and let him send it under his own hand to Jerusalem, for the use of the poor.

And let none go forth from any of their convents to collect alms, save only those whom the chapter and Master of the church may have sent; and let those brethren who have gone forth to make these collections be received into whatever convent they may arrive at; and let them partake of the same food as the brethren may have divided amongst themselves; and let them not give any further trouble there. Let them carry a light with them; and into whatever house they may have been received with hospitality, let them cause the light to burn before them. Furthermore, we forbid our brethren from wearing any such garment as may be unbefitting our religion; and above all, we forbid them to use the skins of wild beasts; and let them eat but twice in the day, and on every fourth day of the week, and on Saturdays, and from Septuagesima until Easter, let them eat no meat, excepting only those who are infirm and feeble; and let them never appear without clothing, but dressed in robes of wool or linen, or in other similar habiliments. But, if any of the brethren shall have fallen by the force of his evil passions into any of the sins of the flock, which may God forbid; if he have sinned in secret, let him repent in secret; and let him impose upon himself a suitable penance: if, however, his sin shall have been discovered publicly, and beyond contradiction, let him in the same place where he may have committed the sin, on the Sabbath day, after mass, when the congregation shall have left the church, be stripped in the sight of all, and let him be scourged and beaten most severely with thongs, or rods, by his superior, or by such other brethren as the superior shall depute to perform this duty; and then let him be expelled from our Institution.

Afterwards, however, if God shall have enlightened his heart, and he shall return to the Hospital, and shall confess himself to have been a guilty sinner, and a transgressor of the laws of God, and shall promise amendment, let him be again received, and a

suitable penance be imposed upon him; and for a whole year let him be considered as on his probation, and during this period let the brethren observe his conduct, and afterwards let them act as seems best to them in the matter. And if any brother have a dispute with another brother, and the superior of the house shall have noticed the disturbance, let this be his penance: let him fast for seven days; the fourth and the sixth, on bread and water; eating upon the ground without a table or a napkin: and if he shall have struck a blow, then for forty days; and if any brother shall absent himself from the convent, or the superior under whose control he hath been placed, wilfully and without the permission of the superior, and shall afterwards return, let him eat his meals on the ground for forty days, fasting on every fourth and sixth day on bread and water, and let him remain in the position of an alien for so long a time as he shall have absented himself, unless that time shall have been so prolonged that it shall seem fitting to the chapter to remit a portion. Moreover, at table, let each one eat his bread in silence, as the apostle directs; and let him not drink after the "Completorium," and let all the brethren keep silence in their beds.

But if any brother, having misconducted himself, shall have been corrected and admonished twice or three times by the Master, or by any other brother, and by the instigation of Satan shall have refused to amend his ways, and to obey, let him be sent to us on foot, and bearing with him a paper, containing his crime; yet let a fixed allowance be made to him, that he may be enabled to come to us, and we will correct him. And let no one strike those entrusted to them as servants, for any fault whatever: but let the superior of the convent, and of the brethren, inflict punishment in the presence of all; yet let justice always be supported within the convent. And if any brother shall have made a disposition of his property after his death, and shall have concealed it from his superior, and it shall afterwards have been found upon him, let the money be tied round his neck, and let him be severely beaten by one of the brothers in the presence of the rest, and let him do penance for forty days, fasting every fourth and sixth day on bread and water.

Moreover, since it is necessary to lay down a statute for you all, we ordain that for each of the brethren as shall go the way of all flesh, in whatever convent he may die, thirty masses shall be sung for his soul. At the first mass, let each of the brethren who is present offer a candle and a piece of money; which contribution, whatever may be its amount, shall be spent on the poor. And the presbyter who shall have sung the masses, if he does not belong to the convent, shall be maintained therein on those days, and his duty being finished, the superior himself shall entertain him; and let all the clothing of the deceased brother be given to the poor. But the brothers who are priests, and who shall sing these masses, let them pour forth a prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ on behalf of his soul, and let each of the priests sing a psalm, and each of the laity repeat 150 paternosters.

And with respect to all other crimes, and affairs, and complaints, let them be adjudged upon in general chapter, and let a just sentence be pronounced. And all these precepts we enjoin and impose upon you, in virtue of our authority, on behalf of Almighty God, the blessed Mary, the blessed John, and the poor; that they be observed strictly and zealously in all points. And in the convents where the Master and chapter have established a Hospital, when a sick person shall make application, let him be received thus: first, after having confessed his sins to the presbyter, let him partake of the holy sacrament; and afterwards let him be carried to his bed, and there, as though he were the Master, let him be charitably entertained every day with food before any of the brethren are supplied, and that of the best the house can afford. And on each Sabbath day, let the Epistle and Gospel be sung in the Hospital, and let holy water be sprinkled around in procession. Futhermore, if any brother, having the superintendence of a convent in any foreign land, shall appeal to any secular person, rebelling against our authority, and shall give him the money appropriated to the poor, in order that, by his power, he may establish the authority of the said brother against the Master, let him be expelled from the general society of the brethren. And if two or more brethren shall be dwelling together, and if one of them shall

have misconducted himself by an evil course of life, the other brothers are not to denounce him, either to the public or to the prior, but first let them chastise him by themselves, and if he will not permit himself to be chastised, let them call in the assistance of two or three others and chastise him. And if he shall amend his ways they should rejoice thereat; but if, on the other hand, he shall remain impenitent, then, detailing his crimes in a letter, they shall forward it to the Master; and whatever he and the chapter may decree, let that be done to the offender; and let no brother accuse another brother unless he is well able to prove the charge, for if he does so he is no true brother.

Furthermore, all the brethren of every convent, who shall now, or have heretofore offered themselves to God, and to the sacred Hospital of Jerusalem, shall bear upon their breasts, on their mantles and on their robes, crosses, to the honour of God and of his sacred cross; to the end that God may protect us by that symbol of faith, works, and obedience, and shield us from the power of the devil, both in this world and in the world to come, in soul and in body, together with all our Christian benefactors. —Amen. Therefore, let no man whatsoever be permitted to infringe this charter, signed, confirmed, and renewed by us, or to oppose himself audaciously to it. If, however, any one shall presume to act thus, let him know that he renders himself liable to the anger of Almighty God and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.—Given at the Lateran, on the 7th day of the ides of April, in the sixth year of our Pontificate.

No. 8.

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER IV., DATED IN 1259, DECREEING A DISTINCTIVE DRESS FOR THE KNIGHTS OF JUSTICE. (Translated from the original Latin.)

ALEXANDER IV., Pope, to our beloved sons, the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, greeting,

and apostolical benediction. Whereas, Almighty God hath built up your Order upon the foundation of obedience, as an immovable pillar in his Church, for the defence of the Holy Land, of which ye are the renowned and stalwart champions, and the chosen protectors, and for the defence of which ye have girt yourselves with the glorious armour of the cross of salvation, to fight the battles of the Lord against the blasphemers of His name; and whereas, as ye are the elect people of God, a princely race, and earnest body of righteous men, the council and congregation of the King of mighty kings, in whose hands verily are two equal swords and burning lights, to execute vengeance on the nations, and to protect the city of the Lord; we intend, therefore, to strengthen with suitable gifts, and to encourage with worthy favours, your Order, and yourselves also, who are the soldiers of Christ, in whom the Lord hath aroused, in those regions, the spirit of the brave Maccabees, and of the other warriors of old of the same class; and to concede to you such things as are known to redound to the development of your Order, and the protection of the Holy Land.

Since it has come to our knowledge that, amongst the brethren of your Order, both Knights and others, there is no distinction or diversity of dress, contrary to the usual custom in most other similar institutions; on which account it comes to pass, that the love of many brethren of noble birth, who, casting aside the allurements of the world, under the garb of your Order, have chosen to devote themselves to the defence of the Holy Land, grows cold; we, therefore, being earnestly desirous that your Order may still continue, by God's help, to be enriched with fresh donations, and may grow and increase in the votive offerings which it shall receive, do hereby grant to you, by the authority of these letters, permission to decree unanimously, and hereafter to maintain inviolate, the regulation, that the Knights, brethren of your Order, shall wear black mantles, that they may be distinguished from the other brethren; but in campaigns, and in battle, they shall wear surcoats and other military decorations of a red colour, on which there shall be a cross of white colour, sewn on in accordance with that on your standard; in order that by the uniformity of signs, the

unanimity of your spirits may be clearly apparent, and that thus, in consequence, the safety of your persons may be insured. Therefore, let it be lawful for no man to infringe upon this statute of our concession. For if any one shall presume upon such an attempt, let him know that he will fall under the indignation of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.— Given at Anagnia, on the third day of the ides of August, in the fifth year of our Pontificate.

No. 9.

LETTER OF THE GRAND-PRECEPTOR OF THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM TO HENRY II., KING OF ENGLAND, CONCERNING THE LOSS OF JERUSALEM. (From Roger Hovenden. Translated from the original Latin.)

To the most well-beloved Lord Henry, by the grace of God the illustrious king of the English, duke of Normandy and Guienne, and count of Anjou; the brother Terric, formerly the grand-preceptor of the house of the Temple at Jerusalem, greeting, through him that sendeth health to kings.

Know that Jerusalem, with the citadel of David, has been given up to Saladin. The Syrians, however, have the charge of the Holy Sepulchre, until the fourth day after the feast of St. Michael, and Saladin himself hath permitted ten of the brethren of the Hospital to remain in the house of the Hospital for one year, to take charge of the sick. The brothers of the Hospital have in truth, as yet, bravely resisted the Saracens, and have already captured two convoys from them, in the latter of which captures, they have valiantly seized upon all the arms and stores and food, which had been in the castle of Faber, which the Saracens have destroyed. As yet Saladin is still being opposed at Gracchus (Crac), near Mount Royal; at Mount Royal itself, at Saphet of the Temple, Gracchus of the Hospital, Margat, Castellum Blancum, and in the provinces of Tripoli and Antioch.

Jerusalem; however, having been taken, Saladin has removed the Cross from the Temple of our Lord, and has had it dragged about the streets for two days, and publicly defiled. Then he caused the Temple of the Lord to be washed with rose water, within and without, above and below, and their laws to be proclaimed at its four quarters, with great acclamation. From the feast of St. Martin until that of the circumcision of our Lord, he has besieged Tyre; hurling stones into it incessantly, by day and by night, from thirteen engines. On the vigil of St. Sylvester, the marquis Conrad distributed Knights and foot soldiers around the walls of the city, and having armed seventeen galleys, and ten smaller vessels, he attacked the galleys of Saladin, with the assistance of the house of the Hospital, and the brethren of the Temple, and overcoming them captured eleven of them, and took the great Admiral of Alexandria, and eight other admirals, a multitude of the Saracens having been slain. The remainder of the galleys of Saladin, escaping out of the hands of the Christians, fled to the army of Saladin, and being driven ashore by his command, he caused them to be set on fire and reduced to ashes. Overcome with grief, he had his horse's ears and tail cut off, and then rode him through the whole army, in the sight of everybody.—Farewell.

No. 10.

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III., DATED IN 1179, RE-ESTABLISHING PEACE BETWEEN THE RIVAL HOUSES OF THE TEMPLE AND HOSPITAL. (Ex Rymer, tom. i. page 61, ad ann. 1182, lib. ii. p. 149. Translated from the original Latin.)

ALEXANDER, bishop and servant of such as are the servants of God; to his beloved sons, the master and brethren of the Order of the Temple, greeting, and apostolical benediction.

The more your Order, and that of the brethren of the Hos-

pital of Jerusalem, are considered to be pleasing to God, and to man, and the more necessary and useful it is proved to be to the kingdom of Palestine, the more doth it become us to entertain feelings of delight and joy at the unity which exists between yourselves and them; and to labour with all diligence that the bond of love may be preserved between you: induced, therefore, by this reason, we not only look with thankfulness upon the peace and concord which ye have established with their consent, with our beloved sons the Master and brethren of the Hospital, with respect to all the disputes which heretofore had been agitated between your house and theirs, as well concerning lands and possessions, as about money and divers other matters; but also, ratifying the same, we do confirm it with our apostolic authority, and do decree that it shall remain for evermore firm and unimpaired; and we have therefore thought fit to insert the terms of that peace verbatim in this letter.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, amen. Let it be made known to all, as well to those that are yet for to come, as to those now present, that by the will of Almighty God, and by the directions and admonition of our Lord Pope Alexander, whom alone we are bound to obey, next to our Lord himself: I, brother Odo of St Amaud, humble Master of the Order of the Temple; and I, Roger de Malins, Master of the house of the Hospital of Jerusalem, by the advice and decision of our chapters, do establish a firm peace, and a happy concord, with regard to all the disputes which had heretofore arisen between the house of the Temple and that of the Hospital, as well about lands and possessions, as about money and divers other matters; all subjects of quarrel having been so equitably settled on either side, that none of them can, for the future, be ever revived or repeated.

We do decree and ordain that all the brethren of the Temple and Hospital shall preserve, hold, and cherish the peace and concord, the termination of all their disputes, which is conducive to reciprocal brotherly affection; since hereafter, for evermore, all the goods and possessions which either house is recognised as holding this day, as well beyond, as on this side of the sea, will remain its own in safety, peace and quiet. If, however,

any quarrel hereafter shall arise amongst us or our successors, or amongst our brethren, either on this side of the sea or on the other, we do enjoin that it be peaceably terminated by the brethren of both houses, in accordance with the decree of our Lord the Pope, in the following manner: Let the preceptors of those houses or provinces, in which the dispute shall have arisen, in conjunction with certain discreet brothers, study to terminate that quarrel, and to preserve peace amongst themselves, without fraud, and as far as possible without giving cause for vexation to the opposing party.

If, however, the brethren shall have been unable, by themselves, to put an end to that dispute, let them summon to their assistance certain of their mutual friends, by whose counsel and mediation the affair may be amicably terminated in the following manner, namely, that on whichever side the majority of brothers or of friends shall have decided, the dispute shall be settled in that manner so that an undisturbed peace and firm affection may be established for ever amongst the brethren.

If, however, they shall be unable to arrive at a peaceful conclusion in this manner, let them refer the dispute to us in writing, and we will terminate it, with God's permission, so that the brethren may retain peace and benevolence towards each other.

If, however, any brother, who may be absent, shall rebel against this treaty, and from the preservation of peace and harmony, be it known to him that he is acting against the decrees of his Master, and the constitution of the chapter of Jerusalem, and he shall in nowise be able to expiate his offence on this head, until he shall have presented himself before his Master, and the chapter of Jerusalem.

Moreover, we have thought fit to add to the foregoing, that the brethren of each house shall everywhere love and honour each other, and study after the welfare of one another, with mutual affection, and brotherly unanimity, so that, though belonging by profession to separate houses, they may appear to be one through affection.

We decree, therefore, that it shall not be lawful for any man whatsoever to infringe upon this statute, which we ourselves have confirmed, nor to oppose it with audacious daring.

If, however, there be anyone who shall attempt such a proceeding, be it known to him that he will fall under the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given and signed on the fourth day of the nones of August.

No. 11.

LETTER FROM POPE GREGORY IX. TO THE EMPEROR FREDERIC, REMONSTRATING WITH HIM ON HIS CONDUCT TOWARDS THE MILITARY ORDERS: DATED IN 1230. (Translated from the original Latin.)

POPE GREGORY IX., unto our beloved son Frederic, emperor of the Romans, always augustus, greeting and apostolic benediction. If thy real desire is, as it should be, that the affairs of the Holy Land be not set in confusion, but rather that they may be regulated, it is right that thou shouldest refrain from molesting the Hospitallers and Templars, by whom that land has hitherto been governed in the midst of many difficulties, and without whom it is believed that it could not be governed at all; and that thou shouldest support them with thy beneficent favour, thus advancing thine own interests, since thou wilt be purchasing for thyself an incomparable reward from God, and a good reputation amongst men. Even though we were to pass over in silence those keen reproaches which are made to us, that the possession of those things which were restored to them by us appears to have had but a momentary duration, yet can we no longer pass over their serious and bitter complaint in which they lament that they are being robbed by others, whilst they neither wished nor intended to deviate from what was right. Wherefore it is not doubtful, that from thence grave losses may impend over the Holy Land, since, whilst labouring under poverty, they no longer possess the means of defending the land according to their wont. Wherefore, that thou mayest prudently consult the interests of thine own con-

science, as also both our own and thy reputation, we ask, advise, and exhort in the Lord, your imperial highness, that, choosing rather to be bound by the virtue of charity, to which all other virtues yield in importance, than to be branded by outraged justice, thou shouldest make restitution to both Hospitallers and Templars of all those things which have been taken away, so that thou mayest avoid the Divine wrath, and that we may justly commend thy clemency; whereas otherwise, thou wilt seem to be exposing our forbearance to various detractions. But to the end that we may the more fully express our desire to thee on this subject, we have put our words into the mouth of our beloved son, the abbot of Casemar; to the which we crave that thou shouldest bestow an unhesitating credence. Given at the Lateran, on the fourth day of the kalends of March, in the fourth year of our pontificate.

No. 12.

LETTER OF POPE GREGORY IX., DATED IN 1238, COMPLAINING OF THE EVIL PRACTICES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.

WE grieve, and record with sorrow, that as we are given to understand, you live in a disorderly manner, retaining within your houses prostitutes, with whom you form positive connections, and that you constitute yourselves defenders of those who assume your habit, though they wrongfully retain possession of their property, provided they pay you a tribute four times a year; and that you receive thieves, and those who waylay pilgrims, within your houses and castles: That you have supplied Vataces, the enemy of God and the Church, with horses and arms, having received lands and houses from him in exchange, not ceasing to render him aid and countenance against the Latins: That you have reduced your accustomed charities to the poor: That you have changed the last will and testament of

those who have died in your Hospitals, and not without grave suspicion of falsifications; and you do not permit the sick to be confessed by any other priests than by the chaplains of your Order, except by special licence from yourselves; and that you have committed several other enormities, which have offended God, and created great scandal amongst the people. Several of your brethren are also very strongly suspected of heresy, from which it is not unreasonably feared, but from this small commencement of evil, many others may be corrupted, and that this pest may become spread far and wide. Therefore, we direct that within three months from the receipt of this letter, reforming your lives to a better course, you shall promptly correct, and carefully amend the things complained of above, and other matters which require to be improved in your Hospital. Otherwise we shall grant authority to our venerable son, the archbishop of Tyre, that at the expiration of that time, unless a proper reform shall have been established in these matters, he should proceed in person to the spot, and having God only before his eyes, after due inquiry touching the above and other matters, that he shall correct and reform them, as well in the head as in the members, which correction and reform he will in his office know how to direct. Given at the Lateran, on the third day of the ides of March, in the eleventh year of our pontificate.

No. 13.

Letter of Peter D'Aubusson to the Emperor of Germany, containing a Narrative of the First Siege of Rhodes. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Most invincible and serene prince; it appears to us in no way incongruous that we should describe to your imperial majesty the incidents which have occurred in the siege of the town of Rhodes; by the Turks in its attack, and by ourselves in its defence; now that the day of battle has had a prosperous ending

to the honour of the Christian name; and we do not doubt but that your imperial majesty will derive no little pleasure from our victory. The Turks having encamped around the city, sought diligently for points of attack; they then endeavoured to shake and destroy the ramparts on all sides with their cannon, and soon showed plainly what their intentions were; and for that purpose surrounded the city with guns and mortars, and with them overthrew nine of its towers and a bastion; and struck and destroyed the magisterial palace. It appeared, however, most convenient for them to attack and press the city upon three sides principally: the attack of the tower on the mole of St. Nicholas appearing the most advantageous for concluding the affair; by means of which they deemed that the city would the most readily fall into their power. This tower is a citadel, at the extremity of the mole, which juts out into the sea in a northerly direction as far as the harbour extends; and is visible to approaching mariners, who may either keep close to it, or easily avoid it. On the westward is situated the chapel of St. Anthony, at a distance of barely two hundred paces, with the sea between. The advantages of the place having been therefore perceived, the Turkish army strove by every means in their power to get it into their possession. They brought three huge brass bombards to batter down the tower, whose size and power were incredibly great, and which threw balls of stone of nine palms, and they placed them in the chapel of St. Anthony. Wonderful to relate, and most calamitous to behold, this renowned fort, which appeared of such surpassing strength, after having been battered by three hundred stone balls, had the greater part of its extent destroyed, overthrown, and ruined. The enemy, who beheld the ruins with exultation, filled the air with their shouts, which vain rejoicing was, however, speedily converted into sorrow. For we being anxious for the safety of the tower, beholding its great and fearful ruin, strove to prop up the remainder of the wall, and since such a course appeared the most judicious, after so complete a downfall, we decided upon protecting not the tower only, but also the mole of St. Nicholas itself. With the most vigilant care and numberless inventions, a thousand labourers worked day and night without intermission; who dug

a deep ditch, and constructed a bulwark with timber on the top of the mole, around the tower, and in the midst of its foundations, and completed an impregnable redoubt at a great cost. There we placed a guard of our bravest warriors within the ruins of the mole, and supplied them with stores and ammunition. At the end also, and foot of the same, we placed other garrisons, both at the eastern and western extremities; because at those points the ramparts ended, and the sea is fordable, so that it was necessary to watch and defend them lest the Turks should pass there and attack us in the rear. And on the walls of the tower we placed bombards, which should sweep the spot during an attack. Fireworks were also prepared to attack the fleet. Twice did the Turks storm the tower, and the new work on its ruins: the first time, when they thought it easy to capture with only moderate force, before daylight at early dawn; when they attacked the place in triremes prepared for the purpose, and fought vigorously. But our men, who were intent upon the defence of the place, were constantly on the watch. So the enemy was driven back discomfited. And in that battle nearly 700 Turks were killed, as we learnt from the deserters. After the lapse of a few days, however, enraged at their former repulse, they again attacked the tower with a powerful marine, and with ingenious skill; shaking and destroying our repairs and new bulwarks with their heavy artillery, and some were completely destroyed. We, however, promptly repaired whatever they overthrew. To carry out the attack, they then got ready triremes well supplied with munitions, and ingeniously prepared for the fight, and certain other heavy vessels (called commonly "parendarias"), in which were heavy guns and stones; that they might establish themselves upon the mole and tower, which they thought they were secure of, and from that point annoy and breach and capture the city itself. They also prepared certain flat-bottomed boats, from which some of the boldest among them reached the mole, and constructed a bridge with the most wonderful skill; which was to cross from the church of St. Anthony to the mole at the foot of the tower. But we suspecting what would occur, after the first attack, had laboured with all our strength and ingenuity; added to our munitions, in-

creased our fortifications, and did not spare the most serious expense; for we judged that the safety of the city depended on that spot. In the middle, therefore, of the night, the Turks on the thirteenth of the kalends of July, burning with a fiercer ardour than ever, approached the tower with the utmost silence, and attacked it on all sides with the greatest impetuosity; but our ears were, however, pricked up, and we were not asleep. But when we discovered that the foe were arrived, our machines commenced to hurl their stones, our soldiers girded on their swords, and missiles of every description being hurled from the tower and mole, overthrew and repulsed the enemy; the battle was carried on with the utmost vehemence from midnight until ten o'clock. Numberless Turks, who had reached the mole from the boats and triremes, were killed. The floating bridge, laden with Turks, was broken by the missiles from our machines, and those who were on it were thrown into the sea. Four of the triremes, and those boats which were laden with guns and stores, were destroyed by the stones hurled upon them, and were sunk. The fleet also was set on fire, and forced to retire; and thus the Turks departed, beaten and defeated. Many of their leading commanders fell in this battle, whose loss was deeply mourned for by the army. Deserters, who joined us after the battle, told us that the Turks had received a severe check, and that nearly 2,500 had been slain. But when the Turks lost all hopes of capturing the tower, they turned all their energies, their ingenuity, and their strength, on an attack of the town itself, and although the whole city was so shaken and breached by their artillery that scarcely the form of the original city remained, still their principal attack was directed against that part of the walls which encloses the Jews' quarter, and looks towards the east; and against that part which leads to the post of Italy. For the purpose, therefore, of destroying and breaching those walls, they brought eight gigantic and most enormous bombards, hurling stones of nine palms in circumference, which played upon the walls without ceasing night and day. Nor did the bombards and mortars placed around the city cease from hurling similar stones, the fall of which added greatly to the general terror and destruction. We therefore placed the

aged, the infirm, and the women in caves, and other underground spots, to dwell, which caused but few casualties to occur from that infliction. They also prepared another description of annoyance, by using fire-balls and lighted arrows, which they hurled from their balistæ and catapults, which set fire to our buildings. We, however, careful for the safety of our city, selected men, skilled in the art, who, ever on the watch, put out the fires wherever the flaming missiles fell. By these precautions the Rhodians were preserved from many mishaps. The Infidels also attempted to approach the city underground, and excavated winding ditches, which they partly covered with timber and earth, that they might reach the ditches of the city under cover; and they built up batteries in many places, from which they kept up an unceasing fire, with colubrine and serpentine guns, and harassed and wearied our men, and also thought it would be an advantage to fill up that portion of the ditch which is adjacent to the wall of the spur. They continued without ceasing, therefore, to collect stones, and secretly to throw them into the ditch, so that part being filled up by their labours to the level of the opposing wall, they could form a pathway in the shape of a back, from which they could conveniently enter upon the walls of the town. We, however, perceiving the attempt of the foe, watched over the safety of the city, and throughout the city, and castle, and ditches, inspected carefully where repairs and munitions were required; which the Turks perceiving, turned again in despair to the Jews' rampart, and other spots; whilst we with repairs and supports restored such places as they had ruined, with stakes of the thickest timber, firmly planted into the ground, and covered with earth, and with roots, and branches interlaced, which clinging together most tenaciously and firmly, sustained the shock of their missiles, and protected the breach, lest the rampart falling into the city should afford them an easy descent. We also made similar bulwarks, with stakes interlaced with brushwood and earth, as cover for our men, and as an obstacle to the Turks when climbing up. We also prepared artificial fire, and other contrivances, which might prove useful in repelling the attack of the Turks. We also thought it advisable to empty that part of

the ditch which the Turks had filled with stones; but as that could not otherwise be done secretly, from the situation of the ditch, we made for ourselves an exit beneath the stones, and secretly brought them into the town. The Turks who were nearest the ditch, however, remarked that the heap of stones diminished, and that the facilities for an ascent would be reduced, unless they rapidly carried out the attack they contemplated. Thirty-eight days were passed in these labours; and during that time 3,500 huge stones, or thereabouts, were hurled at the ramparts, and into the town. The Turks perceiving that the opportunity of storming the town was being gradually taken away from them, hastened on their preparatory works, and on the day before the assault, and that night, and even on the early morning itself, they battered at the walls without intermission with eight huge bombards, hurling enormous rocks; they destroyed and overthrew the barriers that had been erected behind the breach; the sentries, look-outs, and guards of the ramparts were mostly killed, and it was hardly possible to mount the wall, except by taking the utmost precautions, and by descending a little at the sound of a bell, and afterwards continuing the ascent. Nor was time given us to repair the ruined fortification; since the vigour of the bombardment never relaxed, and in a little time 300 stones, or thereabouts, had been discharged. The bombardment having concluded, the Turks, at the signal of a mortar, which had been placed there the day previous, mounted the breach, on the 7th day of the kalends of August, in a vigorous and rapid attack; and the ascent was, as we have already said, easy for them, easier than it was for our men, who had to use ladders. Annihilating the guard who had been placed on the summit of the rampart, who were unable to resist that first onset, before our reinforcements could ascend the ladders, they had occupied the spot, and planted their standards there. The same thing occurred at the bastion of Italy, whose summit they gained. The alarm was given on all sides, and a hand to hand encounter commenced, and was carried on with the utmost vehemence. Suddenly, our men opposing themselves to the foe, on the right and left of the rampart, drove them from the higher places, and

prevented them from moving about on the walls. Of the four ladders, too, which had been provided for the descent into the Jews' quarter, one had been broken by our order, but having ascended by the others, we opposed ourselves to the enemy, and defended the place. There were, in truth, two thousand most magnificently armed Turks upon the walls, in dense array, opposing themselves to our men, and striving, by force of arms, to drive them away, and expel them from the place. But the valour of our men prevented us from giving way. To the first body, however, of Turks, who had gained the walls, there followed an immense multitude of others, who covered the whole country, the adjacent breach, the valley, and ditch, so that it was hardly possible to see the ground. The deserters state that four thousand Turks were engaged in the assault. Our men drove about three hundred of the enemy, who were upon the rampart, back into the Jews' quarter, where they were killed to a man. At that conflict we raised the standard bearing the effigy of our most sacred Lord Jesus Christ, and that of our Order, in the presence of the enemy; and the battle raged for about two hours around the spot. At length the Turks, overcome, wearied, and panic-stricken, and covered with wounds, turned their backs, and took to flight with such vehement haste that they became an impediment to one another, and added to their losses. In that fight there fell 3500 Turks or thereabouts, as was known by the corpses which were found within the city, and upon the walls, and in the ditches, as also in the camp of the enemy, and in the sea; and which we afterwards burnt, to prevent disease; the spoils of which corpses fell into the possession of our men, who, following the flying Turks, even to their camp on the plain, slew them vigorously, and afterwards returned safely into the town. In which battle many of our bailiffs and brave soldiers fell, fighting most valiantly in the midst of the hostile battalions. We ourselves, and many of our brothers in arms, having received many wounds, having returned thanks to God, and placed a strong guard on the walls, returned home; nor was so great a calamity averted from us save by the Divine assistance. For we could not doubt but that God had sent assistance from heaven, lest his poor

Christian people should become infected with the filth of Mahometanism. Turkish women had prepared ropes, under the hopes of obtaining possession of the city, wherewith to bind the captives, and huge stakes, wherewith to impale them whilst living. For they had decreed that every soul, both male and female, above ten years of age, was to be killed and impaled; but the children under that age were to be led into captivity and compelled to renounce their faith; and all booty was to be given over to plunder, the city being reserved for Turkish governance. But being frustrated in their evil designs, they fled like a flock of sheep. During these battles, and the attacks made on different days, as also in defending the approaches, and clearing the ditches, and in the general defence of the town by means of our artillery, which played constantly on their army, we killed, as the Turkish deserters revealed to us, nine thousand of them, and an innumerable quantity more were wounded; amongst whom Gusman Balse and a certain son-in-law of the sultan's died of their wounds. The struggle being ended, they first burnt all their stores, and retired to their camp, a little distance from the city, where, embarking their artillery and heavy baggage, and consuming a few days in transporting some of their army into Lycia, they left the Rhodian shore, and retired to Phiscus, an ancient city on the mainland: thus they retired beaten, with ignominy. May the omnipotent God happily preserve your imperial majesty to our prayers.

Given at Rhodes, on the 13th day of September, in the year of the Incarnation of our Redeemer MCCCCLXXX.

Your imperial majesty's humble servant,

PETER D'AUBUSSON,

Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem.

No. 14.

The Document given by the Sultan Zizim to Peter D'Aubusson when about to leave Rhodes.

Know all men, that I, the sultan Zizim, sprung from the Ottoman race, son of the invincible Mahomet, king of kings, and sovereign emperor of Greece and Asia, am infinitely indebted to the very generous and most illustrious prince seigneur Peter d'Aubusson, Grand-Master of Rhodes; but know also that, considering the kind offices which he has rendered me in the most fatal adventure of my life, and desirous of marking my gratitude as far as the present state of my fortunes will permit, I promise solemnly to God and our great Prophet, that if ever I recover, either entirely or in part, my father's imperial crown I promise and swear that I will maintain a constant peace, a an inviolable friendship, with the Grand-Master d'Aubusso and with all his successors, in accordance with the following articles. In the first place, I pledge myself, my children, and my children's children to maintain a perpetual attachment for the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to the extent that neither I myself, nor my children, shall ever do an injury to the Knights, either by land or by sea; that so far from obstructing their vessels, or disturbing the commerce of the merchants of Rhodes, or of the other islands of the religion, we will open our ports to them, and will permit them to enter freely into all the provinces under our sway, as though they were themselves our subjects: or rather we will treat them as our friends, in permitting them to buy and sell, and to transport their merchandise wherever they may think fit, without the payment of any duty or tax. In addition to this, I consent that the Grand-Master shall withdraw every year from my dominions 300 Christians of both sexes, and of such ages as he may select, to transfer them to the islands of the Order, or for any other purpose which he may think advisable; and in order to make some return for the outlay which the Grand-Master has made, and is making every day

with such liberality on my account, I agree to pay him in specie the sum of 150,000 gold crowns. Lastly, I promise upon oath to restore to him all the islands, all the lands, and all the fortresses which the Ottoman emperors have captured from the Order; and in testimony that such is my will I have signed this deed with my hand, and have sealed it with my seal. Done at Rhodes, in the palace of the Auberge de France, on the 5th day of the month of Reget, in the year of the Hegira 337 (31st of August, 1482).

No. 15.

LETTER OF SIR NICHOLAS ROBERTS TO THE EARL OF SURREY, DESCRIPTIVE OF THE SECOND SIEGE OF RHODES. (Ex Cotton MSS. Copied from Taafe's "Knights of St. John." This letter is much injured, and rendered illegible in many parts.)

RYGHT honerable and my singler good Lord . . . . thankynge your Lordshipe . . . . . with your letters of recommen . . . . to the Lord Master, the which letters I deliverede . . . . . I deliverede to the Lord Master thos leters of recommendationes that the Kings grace . . . . Cardinal, and my Lords grace, y^r. father wrot to him . . . . I deliueryd unto Sir Thomas Shefield a leter that my . . . . your father sent hym, and he gave me answer . . . . the time shold come he wold speake to . . . for me, and to do the best he coulde for me . . . . it not been for hym, my lord master was determined to . . . . geven me part of the commandrey of grace . . . . commandrey, called Dynmore, bysydes receiste . . . . . by the deth of the turkopolier, callyd Sir . . . . whome was slain at the seage of the Ro . . . lord master hath given the said commandre to Sir . . . .

As touchiing the distructione and taking of the Rodes, I avised your lordshipe by my lres, datayd in february last past, w^h my next lres, I shall send your lordship the copy of all suche

things that hath ben betwen the great Turk and us during the seage I beleve seins the tyme of the romans as far as I have red in . . . . was ther never no towne beshegied w^t so gret an army, both by se and by lande, as . . . . beshegied with all; for by the se he had t . . . . of Vsailles not lakking XVII thousand seamen, and by Lande, a hundredth thousand fething men, and fefte thousand laborers with spades and pikes, with the occasione of the taking of the Rodes in the space of four moniths, they brought a mowntaine of erth befor them to the walles of the towne, which was as hie agen as the walles of the towne wer, the which . . . . the distructione and dethe of many a man . . . . and child; for at all such tymes as they would geve us any batalle, they would put IIII or V springarders upon the said mowntaine, that the people for a man could not go in the . . . . of that mountaine. I was one of those that the lord master . . . . Religione sent to the gret Turk for p . . . . such tyme as the pact was made betwene the Turks and him. The gret turk ys of the age of . . . yers, he ys vere wise discret and muc . . . . bothe in his wordes and also in his . . . . being of his age. I was in his court . . . at such time as we were brought first to make our reverens unto him we fou . . . a red pavilion standing betwee[n] two lions marvelous ryche and sumptu . . . . setting in a chayr and no creatur sat in the pavelione, which chayr was of g . . . work of fin gold, his gard stonding near his pavilion to the number of XXII . . . . they be called Sulaky, the nomber . . . . continually about his person, he ha . . . . number of XI thowsand of them; they wear on ther heddes a long white cape, and on the tope of the cape a white ostrage .'. . . which gevith a gret show . . . . Armye was divided in fowre partes, the captains . . . . waz callid as folowith, the principall captaine is called pero bashaw, second mustapha bashaw, the third hakmak bashaw, the fourth the . . . . igalarby of anatolie. They be the IIII governours under the gret turk; every one of them had fifte thousand men under his Baner, and they lay at IIII severall places of the towne, and euery one of them made a breche in the wall of the towne; that in some place V^c men on horseback myght come in at once; and after that the wall

of the town was downe, they gave us battall often tymes upon even ground, that we had no manner of advantage apone them; yet thankid be God and Saint John, at euery batall they returned without their purpose. Upon Saint Andrue ys evin last, was the last batall that was betwene the turkes and vs; at that batall was slain XI thousand turkes, and of our part, a hundredth and . . . ur score, and after that day the turkes purposed to give vs no more batall, but to come into the towne by trenches in so much, y^t. they mad . . . . gret trenches, and by the space of a month did come allmost into the mydst of our towne, in so much that ther lay nightly wtin our town . . . . thousand turkes; the trenches wer covered with thick taballes, and holes in them for thyer springardes, that we could not aproche them . . . . and a monithe after we saw precisely that the toune was loste we would never give over in esperance of socours, and at such tyme as we sawe y^t theyr come no succours, nor no socours reddy to come, and considering that the most of our men were slain, we had no powther nor . . . . manner of munycone, nor vitalles, but lon by brede and water, we wer as men desperat . . . . etermyned to dye upon them in the felde, rather than be put upon the stakes; for we doubted he would give us our lyves, considering ther wer slain so many of his men: but in the end of the seson they came to parlement w^t vs, and demandyd to know of vs whether we would make any partial . . . . . and said that the grēt Turk was content if we wold geve him the walles of the towne, he would geve us our lyves and our goodes; the commons of the towne hearing this gret profer, came . . . to the lord master, and said that considering that the walle and strength of the towne ys taken, and the munycone spent, and the most of yor Knights and men slaine, and allso seing ther ys no socours redy to come, they determynd . . . . this partido that the gret Turk geveth us the lyves of our wiffes and children. The lord master hering the opinion of the hole commonalty resolved to take that partido, fell downe allmost ded, and what time he recoveryd himsel in sort, he seeing them contenue in the same, at last consented to the same. During the seage the lord master hath ben found in every

batall, oft as the worst Knight of the religione . . . . . Knights ther war slain VII hundredth and three, of the Turkes and hundredth and three thousand, they gave us XXII batalles, the XX . . . . September was the general batall, from the beginning of the day to hie . . . . without easeing; they gave us batalles in V places of the towne, and ther war slain by their own confessione, at that batalle XXII thousand; the gret turk war ther in parson, and in the batall we had slain three score . . . . upon our walles, or ever we war redy to . . . . them; ther war slaine of our part VI thousand and . . . . during the siege tyme. May the Lord have your lordship in his mercifull kepyng. Messena, the XVth day of May. By the hand of your faithfull servant and

bedman,

NYCHOLAS ROBERTS.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE.

00029607

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 23 March, 2016